

LIBRARY

Brigham Young University

FROM

Call No.	Acc. No.
978.14 N81 V.7	---

SACRED HEART PARISH LIBRARY

978.4
781
4.7

Date Due

ANNEX



PRINTED IN U. S. A.

LIBRARY

Brigham Young University

FROM

Call No.	Acc. No.
978.4	---
N81	
V.7	

SACRED HEART PARISH LIBRARY

978.4
781
v.7

VMSK

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or name, in cursive script.

SACRED HEART PARISH LIBRARY



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Brigham Young University

<https://archive.org/details/collectionsofsta07stat>

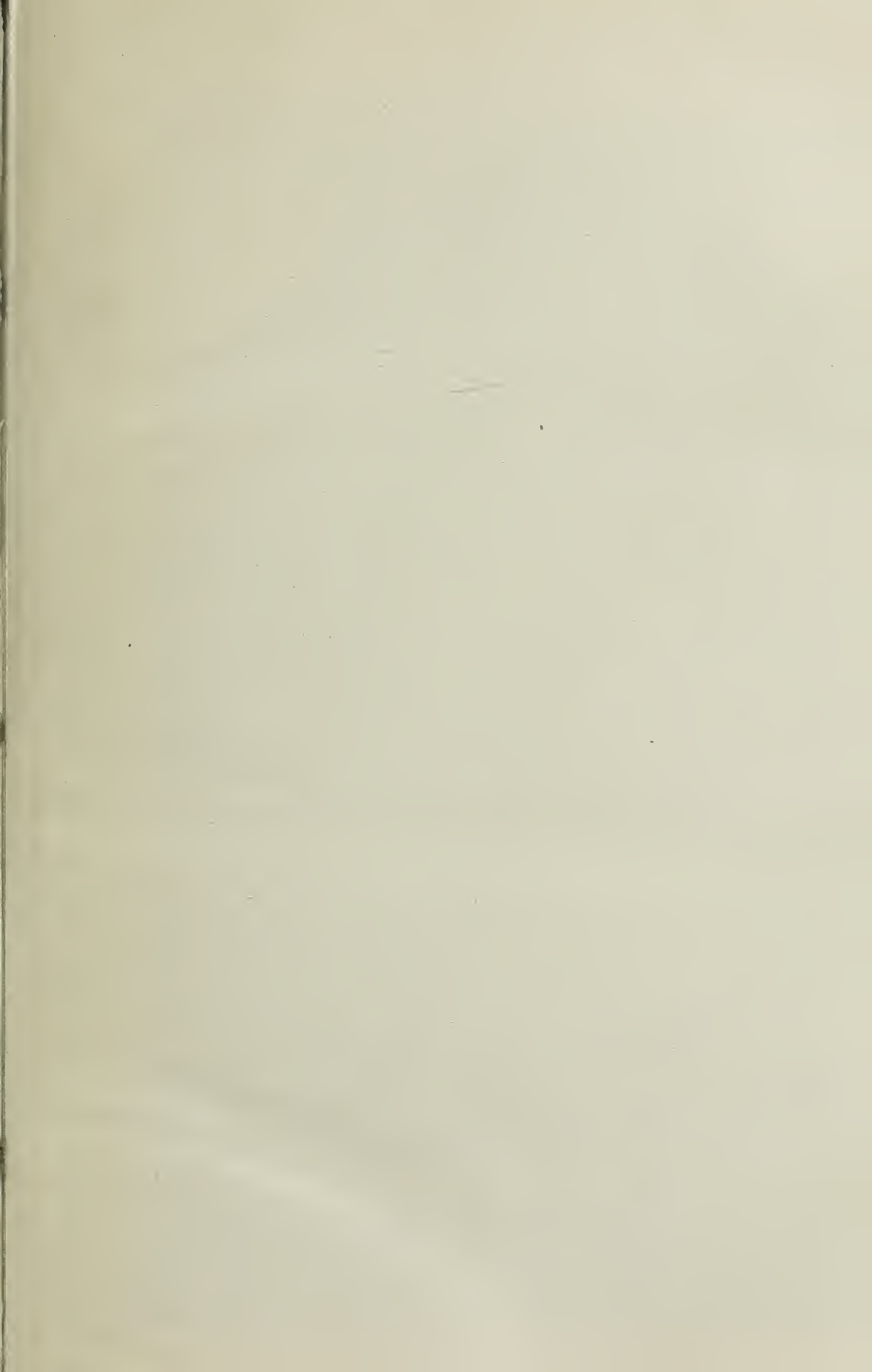
COLLECTIONS OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF NORTH DAKOTA

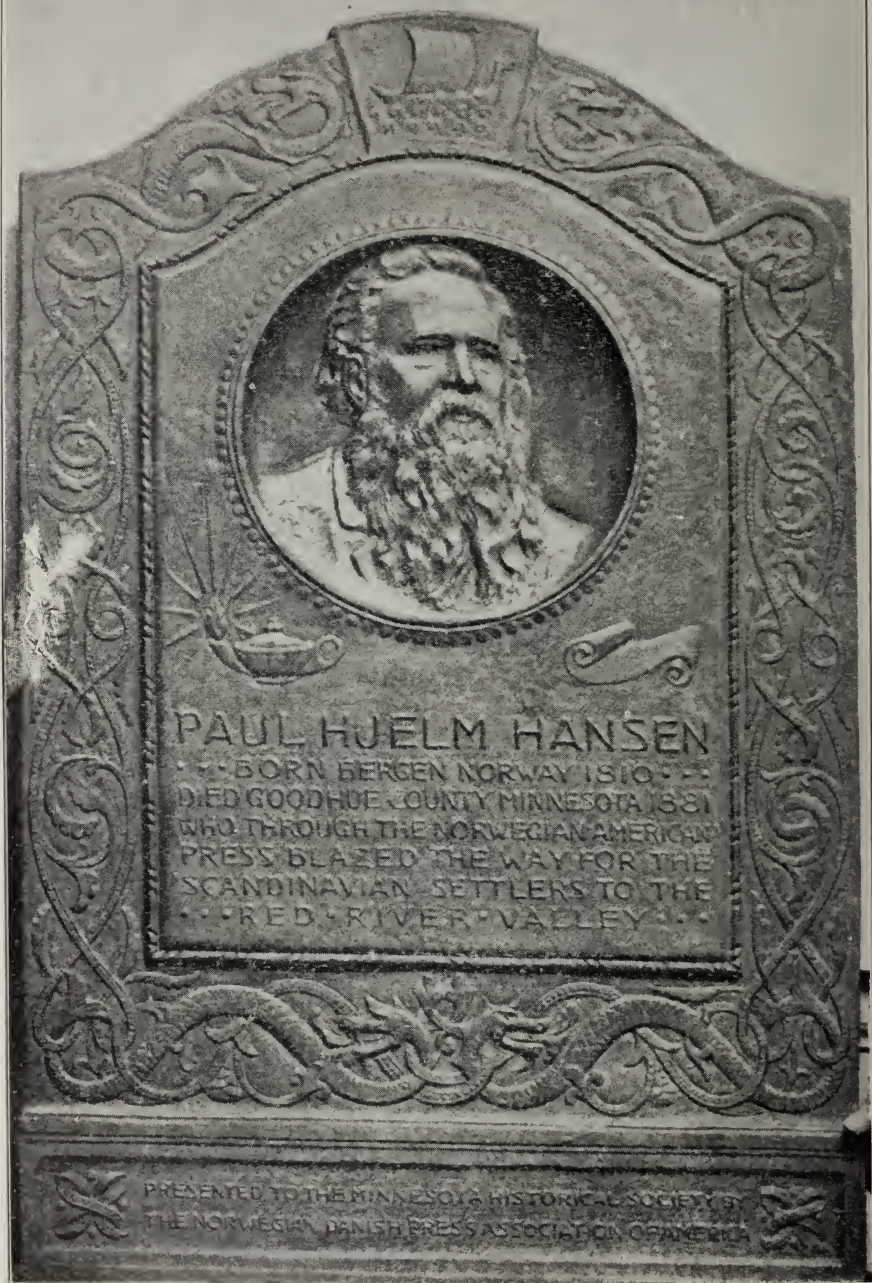
Copyright, 1925
By The
State Historical Society of North Dakota

NORMANDEN PUB. CO.



GRAND FORKS.
N. DAK.





PAUL HJELM HANSEN

By courtesy of the St. Paul Dispatch.

Collections of The
State Historical Society

VOLUME VII

O. G. LIBBY, Editor



GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA

1925

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH DAKOTA

President, C. B. Little, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1929
Vice President, L. F. Crawford, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1927
Secretary, O. G. Libby, Grand Forks.....	March 31, 1927
Treasurer, J. L. Bell, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1929

I. A. Acker, Hillsboro.....	March 31, 1927
L. E. Birdzell, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1929
J. M. Gillette, Grand Forks.....	March 31, 1927
G. Grimson, Langdon.....	March 31, 1927
Geo. H. Hurtt, Hoople.....	March 31, 1925
Sveinbjorn Johnson, Bismarck	March 31, 1927
C. W. McDonnell, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1929
J. A. Poppler, Grand Forks.....	March 31, 1929
Geo. F. Shafer, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1929
Victor Wardrope, Leeds.....	March 31, 1927
Geo. F. Will, Bismarck.....	March 31, 1927
Dana Wright, Jamestown.....	March 31, 1929

Ex-officio directors: Governor, secretary of state, auditor, commissioner of agriculture and labor, and superintendent of public instruction.

ERRATA

- Page 50. Arikara for Ree.
Page 79. Minto for Minot.
Note 23. Josephite for Josephpte.
Page 86. Primeau for Primeaux.

CONTENTS

Pioneer Experiences of Horatio H. Larned by Ethel A. Collins	1
Pierre Garreau at Fort Berthold.....	39
The Ambuscade of the Gold Miners.....	48
The Killing of Captain Cady by Little Crow.....	53
The Escape of the Indians from Gen. Sibley's Army....	56
Biographical Sketches of North Dakota Pioneers.....	59
Frank Viets	61
Augustus Barlow	79
Robert C. Mathews	96
A. H. DeLong	104
O. F. Sperry	119
Andrew Marsh	126
Historical Notes on the Norwegians in the Red River Valley by Axel Tollefson	131
Early Immigration of the Norwegians to the Red River Valley	133
The Settlement of Norwegians in Grand Forks County	159
Grand Forks City	172
Grand Forks College	176
Grand Forks Deaconess Hospital	180
Deaconess Hospital and Old Peoples Home at Northwood	183
Sons of Norway	185
The Scandia Society	187
The Bjarne Male Chorus	188
The Norwegian Lutheran Church in the Red River Valley by Anton Hillesland	193
Early Beginnings of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America	195
Norwegian Lutheran Synodical Organizations.....	199
The Norwegian Synod	201
The United Norwegian Lutheran Church.....	205
The Lutheran Brethren	208

CONTENTS

The Church in Territorial Days	209
Religious Affiliations of the Settlers.....	210
Synodical Organization	211
Lutheran Congregations	212
Early Pastors	214
Later Developments of the Church in the Red River Valley	221
Organizations within the church	225
The Norwegian Lutheran Synods in the Red River Valley	227
Pioneer Experiences	
Peer O. Strømme	233
Rev. S. O. Braaten	240
Rev. Th. K. Gaustad	243
Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker	247
Rev. J. J. Ringstad	251
Rev. Bersvend Anderson	253
Rev. S. S. Wold	255
Rev. S. L. Tallakson	256
Rev. Bjug Harstad	258
G. B. Jacobson	263
Mrs. Gabriel Gunderson	266
Peer Asheim	267
Ole E. Holen	269
Mathias Kaldor	271
Ingebright Locken	273
Sven Heskin	276
Hans Hanson	279
The History of Crary by Emma Severson	283
The Odessa Boom	296
The Medora Black Hills Stage Line by Lewis F. Crawford	309

ILLUSTRATIONS

Barlow, Augustus	page	96
DeLong, A. H.	page	96
Hansen, Paul Hjelm	Frontispiece	
Larned, Horatio H.	page	6
Larned, Mrs. Wm. L.	page	6
Larned, Wm. L.	page	6
Marsh, Andrew	page	61
Mathews, Robt. C.	page	96
Sperry, O. F.	page	61
Viets, Frank	page	61
Advertisement in <i>Badlands Cowboy</i>	page	316
Broadside, advertising the Medora-Black Hills Stage line	page	313
Buffalo Robe Press	page	87
Bull Train, Deadwood Trail	page	318
Deadwood, S. D., in 1876	page	314
Fort Dilts	page	14
Sketch Map of Place of Massacre of Miners.....	page	50

PIONEER EXPERIENCES OF HORATIO H. LARNED

BY ETHEL A. COLLINS

H. H. Larned's part in the Fisk expedition of 1864 and his work at the fur trading posts of the frontier make him a truly representative figure in the early history of North Dakota.

This pioneer of our state was born in Hudson, Michigan, February 15, 1845. His father was Wm. L. Larned,¹ and his mother was Elizabeth

¹ Wm. L. Larned was born in Oxford, Mass., Dec. 1, 1817, and was descended from good old colonial stock. His father Silvanus Larned, was one of the leading citizens in Tompkins Co., N. Y. He was justice of the peace for thirty years, and served for two terms in the N. Y. legislature. He was the owner of a saw mill and a fine 70 acre farm. Wm. Larned's grandfather, also named Silvanus, was born in Oxford, Mass., May 30, 1760. He was one of the "Minute Men" in the Revolutionary War, and took part in the battle of Bunker Hill as a private. He served all through the war, winning promotion to the rank of colonel, and served under Lafayette as colonel of a regiment at Yorktown.

His great grandfather, Ebenezer Larned, was born April 18, 1728, also at Oxford, Mass. He was a farmer and owned a saw mill there. He served in the French and Indian Wars, rising from the rank of private to that of captain in a Colonial regiment. When the Revolutionary War broke out he raised a regiment of "Minute Men" in Worcester Co., and when news came of the battle of Concord he marched at once for Boston. He took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. A short time later Massachusetts raised a brigade and Ebenezer Larned was put in command as a brigadier general. He was active in the Burgoyne campaign the fall of 1777 and was at Valley Forge the winter of 1777-8. In the battle of Princeton the next summer his horse fell with him, injuring him so that he was unable to walk thereafter and had to resign his command. He died April 1, 1801.

Wm. Larned's great-grandfather, also Ebenezer, was born Jan. 30, 1690, at Salisbury, Mass. He was one of the first settlers of Oxford, Worcester Co., Mass. He also combined the occupation of farmer, saw mill owner and soldier. In the war with the French he was colonel of a colonial regiment, and died March 15, 1772.

W. L. Larned and the Larned Family, Albany, 1882, p. 182.

J. Benson, of the Bensons, who were one of the original Dutch families in Manhattan Island.²

The exact date when the Larned family came to this country from Bermondary, England, is not known, but there is a record of their joining the church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, Oct. 6, 1632. They were ardent Puritans and played their part in the various episodes of their times, from the persecution of witches at Salem to the owning of slaves. Their last slave, a faithful old man, was buried in the same cemetery with the family at Oxford.

In 1820 Wm. Larned's father and family moved from Oxford, Massachusetts, to Groton, N. Y., when Wm. Larned was but 3 years old.

Horatio Larned's mother, Elizabeth J. Benson, was born at Groton, New York, Sept. 18, 1822. She and Wm. Larned were married there Sept. 30, 1843, and went to make their home at Hudson, Michigan, where Horatio Larned was born.

At Hudson Wm. Larned was engaged in business as a merchant and also acted as postmaster, but he contracted the fever and ague and his health forced him to give up his work at Hudson. He moved to St. Anthony, now part of East Minneapolis, arriving there May 2, 1850. He took an active part in the affairs of the new country and was for two terms a member of the terri-

² Washington Irving, *Knickerbocker History of New York*, New York, p. 423.

torial senate. He became interested in the promotion of a new town on the Rum river named Anoka. He had a part ownership in the water power there and built a large planing mill which he operated until April, 1861. Upon the outbreak of the Civil War, he enlisted in the 1st Minnesota Infantry.

Horatio Larned was five years old when the family moved to St. Anthony, May 21, 1850, and nine when they moved to Anoka, in 1854. As a boy he was, from his own account, the active, energetic type, fond of an outdoor life and very much more devoted to his dog and his canoe than he was to his school work. In fact his school years, as was too often the case in pioneer days, were brief, and from twelve to seventeen he was in school but part of the time. During those years he spent part of his time on their little home farm at Anoka, Minnesota. He was a cattle herder for three summers in that vicinity, and during two springs acted as a river driver, helping to send the pine logs down Rum river from the logging camps to the saw mills at Anoka and Minneapolis.

In the summer of 1858 he helped a merchant, Staples, drive 25 head of beef steers from Anoka to Vermillion Lake, north and west of where Du-

luth now stands.³ This lake was the scene of a gold rush that year, and meat was much in demand. Duluth was not in existence at that time and Larned saw the ground where that city now stands when there was not a house on the site. The old trading post was a few miles up the St. Louis river. They had an Indian guide who piloted them through the heavy forests which were mostly of pine. Their tent and camp equipment they carried on pack saddles on the backs of two steers.

Returning home they took a canoe up stream and portaged to the head of a stream emptying into the St. Croix River. From there they went down the St. Croix River to the Mississippi River and up the Mississippi to Anoka. The memory of little black flies and mosquitoes which were their constant attendants on the trip lasted longer, Larned tells us, than did the twelve dollars which he received as pay for his services for the six weeks work.

When the Civil War had been under way for a year Larned followed the traditions of his sol-

³ Accounts of this gold rush are given in the *St. Paul Pioneer* of Sept. 30, 1865 and also Oct. 5, 7, 8, 15, 18, 21, 24 & 25. They are signed "Oro Fino" and give a diary of a journey from St. Paul to the gold mines of Lake Vermillion. In the *Pioneer* for Jan. 16, 1866, there is an article on the Minn. Gold Region. On March 16, 1866 there is a letter from Major T. M. Newson of the Mutual Protection Gold Mining Co. telling of the building of a road from Duluth to Lake Vermillion.

This information was obtained by the courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society. (Ed.)

dier ancestry, and in his turn took up arms to preserve the union his fathers had helped to establish.

He was seventeen when he enlisted in the first Minnesota Volunteers at Anoka, Minnesota, Sept. 23, 1862. He served under Pope and Sibley in the Indian campaigns of both Minnesota and Dakota. In 1862 and 1863 he was a cavalry soldier and spent several months at Abercrombie, and also went on expeditions up and down the Red River of the North from Lake Traverse to Pembina and beyond that point. All his service was in western Minnesota and Dakota Territory.

After his regiment was mustered out at Fort Snelling, Oct. 31, 1863, Larned, by no means weary of the adventurous life of the frontier, joined Captain Fisk's expedition which was made up of emigrants on their way out to the mines of Idaho and Montana.

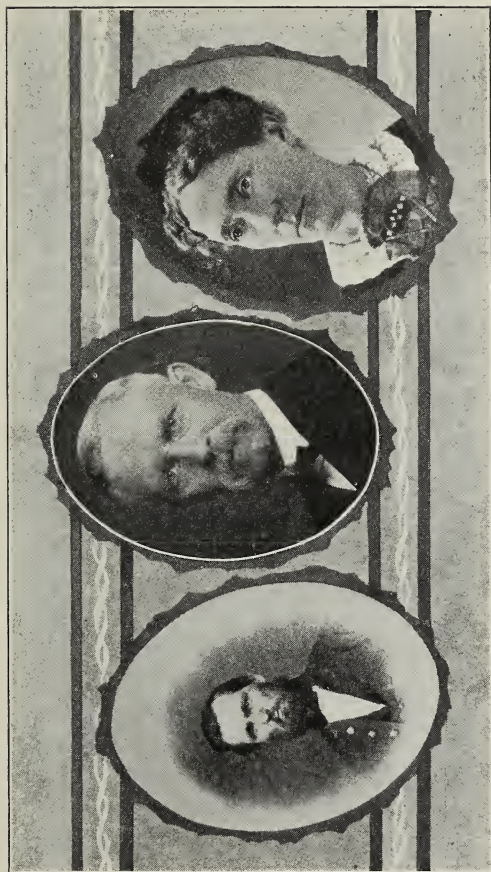
The Larneds' purpose on this journey was to take out a stock of hardware to be sold to Idaho miners. The Larned family had considerable capital invested in this enterprise, the elder Larned having \$15,000 invested, while the son's share was \$1000. They had eight teams, and the teamsters, in pay for their services, were given their board and keep. There was one strong one-horse wagon, covered with canvas and fully

equipped, which was used by Larned's father and mother.

Ft. Ridgely was the place of rendezvous for the company, and there started out from that place on July 15 a party of emigrants consisting of one hundred forty-six men, seven women, and ten or twelve children. They had ninety-six teams with them and were a very well-equipped company.

Members of the party employed by the elder Larned as teamsters were I. P. Lennan, Isaac Brumbaugh, H. H. Larned, Charles Libby and Geo. Wilson, all from Anoka, Minnesota, Jas. Johnson of Minneapolis, and Chas. J. Clark of St. Cloud, Minnesota. In Larned's immediate party was Jefferson Dilts of Co. C., 1st Minnesota Mounted Rangers. It was arranged that Dilts was to act as guide after crossing the James River. He served as scout, going ahead into the unknown country in search of water and roads, and in this capacity was of great service to Captain Fisk. Another teamster was supplied in his place, and the U. S. Government paid Dilts twenty-five dollars per month. He had his own Sharp's carbine and was an excellent hunter. Every night his horse came in loaded with meat and he kept Larned's section well supplied.

While crossing the Coteau region of eastern Dakota a little son was born to Mrs. Murphy on



WM. L. LARNED

HORATIO H. LARNED

MRS. WM. L. LARNED



July 28. The wagons were halted for the day, and renewing their march on the next day they reached the camp of halfbreed scouts and Sisseton Sioux in the evening. They camped there July 29, within a mile of the proposed site of Ft. Wadsworth. They remained in camp the next day, July 30, their leaders going to visit the garrison. On July 31 they set out from Ft. Wadsworth. This fort had just been commenced and the Fisk party had followed on the trail of the expedition that went out to construct it.

From Ft. Wadsworth an escort of fifty cavalry under Lieut. Phillips was dispatched by General Sibley to accompany the wagon train as far as Ft. Rice, then just being built.

How to cross the Missouri River was a problem for the wagon trains, but the steamboat, *General U. S. Grant*, came down the river and they bargained for ferry work. Larned's father paid eight dollars for having eight teams ferried across Aug. 21. It took eighteen hours to get the party across.

At Fort Rice Col. Dill was able to furnish Capt. Fisk with only fifty soldiers for a guard as he had the fort to protect and did not dare to weaken too greatly the garrison there.⁴

Capt. Fisk's intention was to find a new route

⁴The command of this military escort was given to Lieut. Smith of Mineral Point, Wis., a member of the 30th Wis. Infantry.

to the mines. They followed Sully's trail for about 80 miles when they found it bearing too far north for their purpose. Here the Captain, of his own accord and without consulting the proper officers, determined to leave the trail and make his own road. They started up the Cannon Ball, following the south branch, to the end, near Chalk Buttes. Fisk's action in leaving the Sully trail was not well received by the intelligent and thoughtful among the emigrants, especially as they were provided with an insufficient escort.

They selected a good road and went on making long marches until September 2, at a place 166 miles in a westerly direction from Fort Rice, and about 22 miles east of the Thick Timbered River. Here they were attacked by a band of Dakotas.⁵ At the time of the attack the train was passing through a valley, with an occasional deep ravine and high hills on either side. It was an extremely rough country and offered a very difficult passage for a wagon train. Had the Indians deferred their attack until the emigrants were in the "Bad Lands" they could easily have effected the massacre of the entire party.

The day before the attack they had made twenty-four and a half miles and camped after dark without water. The Captain determined on

⁵ The distance was obtained by the record of Capt. Fisk's odometer. His instrument showed them to have traveled 176 miles from Ft. Rice to the site of Ft. Dilts.

an early start and after going a distance of 10 and one half miles water was found. They halted for breakfast and at noon started on again. At a cross gulch known as Deep Creek, a road had to be cut down through two steep banks. Here one of the wagons upset and some dozen men were detailed to help it straighten up and come on. A second wagon pulled out of the line while the rest of the wagons went on. There were three men with the teams and the rear guard of nine men left behind with them also.

The train started and had proceeded about a mile when a messenger rode forward with information of the attack. Lieut. Smith and his squad hastened to the conflict but before he could assist them, every man in the rear was killed except two. There was a thief amongst the teamsters and after a jury trial he was tied to one of the wagons and he was compelled to walk. The wagon that upset was the one to which the thief was tied. The Indians held him prisoner till after the incident of the poisoned bread and then burned him alive.⁶

The members of the emigrant party who were killed in this first attack were Louis and Walter Fewer of St. Anthony, and Walter Grimes of St.

⁶ Porcupine told H. H. Larned many years after this, when he inquired as to the fate of this man: "We Indians have different customs from you whites. The last thing this white man saw was a bright light at his feet."

Paul, formerly of White Bear. The wounded were Jefferson Dilts, severely, and Charles L. Libby of Anoka, slightly. Nudick had gone back to look up a stray ox before the wagon upset and was never heard of again. His revolver was recaptured by the scout, Jefferson Dilts, in a hand to hand fight with the Indians, which shows he was no doubt the first one to be killed.

The two wagons captured by the Indians were headquarters wagons and in one were seven Springfield rifles and 5000 rounds of ammunition in boxes. These guns were later used by the Indians to the great annoyance of the expedition. There were also clothing, tents, a keg of liquor and some food in the wagons captured.

Those ahead heard shots and saw their whole rear swarming with Indians headed toward the two wagons. They bunched their teams and forty men rushed back on foot. About two-thirds of the way back Dilts rode past, gun in one hand and pistol in the other. He rode to the upper part of the gulch to take the Indians in the flank. Later he was found wounded with three arrows in his body, and six Indians were found lying dead about him. They picked up the dead and wounded and went back to where the wagons were coralled.⁷

⁷ Eight men were buried here, six soldiers and two teamsters, in a series of narrow graves, the dirt from one being used to fill the other. Each body was wrapped in a blanket when put into the grave. Lieut. Johnson read the Episcopal service for all at one time.

The next day the train started out expecting another attack, which soon came. They were quickly surrounded by Indians who fought with great bravery all day. They had to use the 12 lb. howitzer to clear the gullies and ridges in front. Spherical case shot were used, a soft fuse plate was sunken in each shell on the side. This was marked in seconds and a knife cut into the plate would let the flame of the charge reach the proper length of fuse. It was fired by Benjamin Shuler of Anoka, a teamster. He was a first class mechanic and carpenter. The howitzer was used to protect the wagon train by placing it on a knoll to keep back the swarming enemy. As fast as the train proceeded the gun would be moved to a new position from which it defended the train until the last wagon went by, then it would be again moved forward as before.⁸

The next camp was made eight miles from where they were attacked. Lieut. Smith had thirty men for a rear guard and they kept the Indians back until the train had passed over the

⁸ This daily use of the howitzer had one unexpected result of great benefit to the emigrant train. The buffalo were frightened away from their line of march as far as fifty miles on each side. The Indians being thus deprived of their means of subsistence were compelled to hunt at a great distance and the attacking party was cut down to a fraction of its original numbers. Had not the Indians been exceedingly hungry so many of them would not have eaten the poisoned hard tack. Their desire for food also led them to negotiate for the release of Mrs. Kelly. These facts were related to Larned several years after this by some of the Indians who took part in the attack on the wagon train.

next ridge and were out of range. Then they ran down from the ridge and on to the next one. As soon as the wagon train was out of range the Indians began to fire on the rear guard. After this had gone on for some time Smith said, "Let's give them a lesson." The next time that the rear guard fell back from the ridge they had been defending, instead of going on they immediately turned and ran back up the hill and caught the Indians on the farther side, swarming up the hill on horseback. All the rear guard instantly dropped and poured several close range volleys into the mass of Indians, covering the slopes with disabled horses and dead and wounded Indians. This slackened the pursuit and gave the rear guard considerable relief.

When the party found a good camping place they halted, formed corral, fed their stock, and prepared for another dismal night. The camp was called the "bread camp" because at this place one of the party injected strychnine into the edges of some hard tack with a hypodermic syringe, and left it in a half burned box on a camp fire.⁹ Larned saw the box of half burned hard tack on

⁹ Porcupine, one of the Indians, afterwards described to Larned the appearance of a piece of the hard tack he had kept for some time. The edges of the crackers had tiny holes in them where they had been perforated by the syringe. This looked suspicious to Porcupine and he refused to eat any of it. The other Indians ate the hard tack and about twenty-five died. The Dakotas did not seem to resent it, Porcupine said, but thought it a smart trick.

a camp fire as he drove off that morning. He mentioned it to one of the camp guards, who warned him to leave it alone. They changed the direction of march at this camp nearly at right angles, and the wagons went down a slope across a creek, and up again to the prairie. That morning they had moved on less than ten minutes before they were again surrounded by Indians, who appeared more daring than ever. They marched two miles and concluded a halt was the better part of valor. Constant duty night and day was wearing out the men and they decided to halt for a permanent defense.

On September 5, the third day after the attack, it was determined to form a corral and fortify it.

The wagons were driven so as to form an irregular enclosure by the head teamster, Van Fisk, Capt. Fisk's brother, the last wagon locking its fore wheel behind the outer hind wheel of the wagon in front, so as to have all the wagon tongues on the outside.¹⁰ Next this irregular oblong was enclosed by a ridge with ditches inside and out. Jefferson Dilts, their scout, and two

¹⁰ The head teamster learned to make just the right size of circle to include all the wagons. His wagon was the last one to stop and it always closed the gap in the enclosure. The tongue pointed outside for convenience of getting at the supplies and cooking utensils, which were always packed in the front of the wagon. Besides this, it very considerably increased the size of the inside space and also enabled the drivers to put the ox yokes and harness where they could readily be found and easily reached from the tent or the camp fire.

soldiers were buried under this trench ridge; the camp was named Fort Dilts in his honor.¹¹

Between the wagons and the ridge was the camping space for tents and here also the camp fires were built. Inside the line of wagons was the corral for the cattle and horses. The ridge was leveled to an average height of three feet and on this was built sod about six and one half feet high. The sods were plowed up east of the camp and were 10 by 18 inches. In building the wall the sods were laid crosswise and lengthwise alternately, making a firm and impenetrable defense. On the inside some sods were laid down so as to make an elevated walk for the sentries and for use of the defenders in case of an attack.¹²

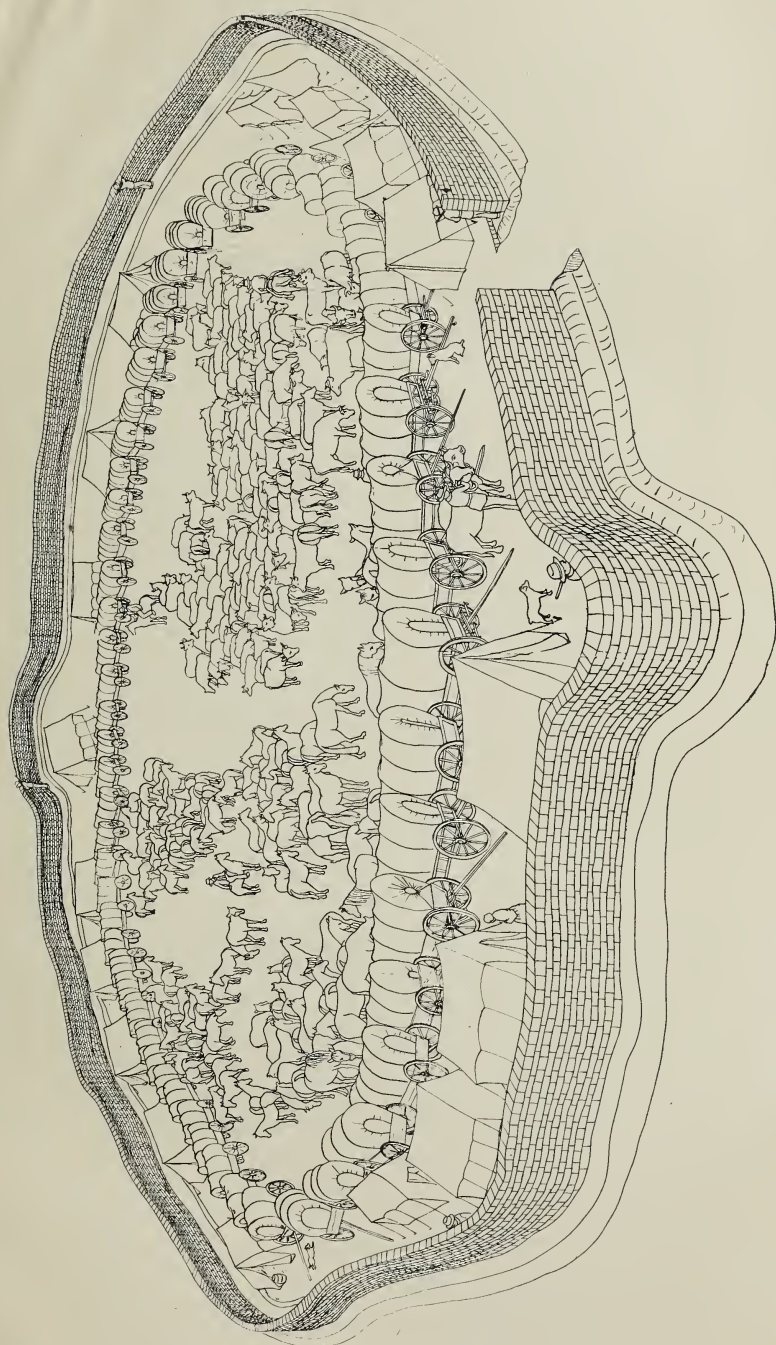
While the fortification was being built, a band of Indians posted themselves on a small hill about one third of a mile to the southwest and began firing down into the camp. Lieut. Smith at once led a party of soldiers and emigrants in a charge upon this hill and took it after a sharp skirmish.¹³ Four of its defenders were killed and were later

¹¹ The soldiers were Manfred Betts and Williamson of the 6th Iowa Cavalry.

¹² The site of Ft. Dilts has been donated by the owner, L. G. Dawes, to the State Historical Society. It is located in lot 3, fractional section 2, 132-105, and contains 23.2 acres.

For a drawing of Ft. Dilts, see frontispiece.

¹³ In the party were H. H. Larned and his teamster, Chas. L. Libby. The latter was wounded in the shoulder and though the wound soon healed, he carried the ball to the day of his death.



FORT DILTS

By the courtesy of the Art Department, University of North Dakota.

buried where they fell. The hill was fortified by excavating a small hollow at its summit, about twenty feet in diameter. Here was kept a guard of ten men, who were changed every twenty-four hours. Guard duty on this hill was considered the easiest service in the whole camp.

The hospital at Ft. Dilts was the large wall tent belonging to the Larned family. Mrs. Larned was the efficient nurse for all the wounded men. Three of them died in this improvised hospital, Dilts, Betts and Williamson, all of whom had been fatally wounded in the first day's fight.

Late in the afternoon of September 5 a council was held to decide on the best means of getting help from Ft. Rice. It was agreed that volunteers ought to be sent back to the fort to carry word of their desperate situation. Lieutenant Smith was the first to volunteer, which he did in his characteristic manner. Rising to his feet and throwing one hand up he said: "Furnish me with a good horse and I will go tonight. To make the job secure I ought to be followed by two others an hour apart."¹⁴

His own horse had been wounded two days before and the best horse in the camp was immediately placed at his disposal. He left the camp at 10 P. M. in the midst of a heavy rain

¹⁴ Larned speaks in high praise of the soldierly qualities of Lieut. Smith and all the emigrants agreed that at various critical times he had shown unusual skill in meeting emergencies.

and shortly after he left two others followed. Eight others volunteered for the service and left camp at different times through the night.¹⁵

Seven of the volunteers came back to camp the next day, having missed their way in the darkness. Lieut. Smith was the first to reach the camp and he was followed by two others. One of the men, Hoffmaster of Brackett's Battalion, the second man to volunteer, was killed by the Indians at about the spot where the first attack on the emigrants was made, September 2.

Provision had to be made for feeding and watering the stock. The heavy rains of the past few days had provided plenty of water in the low ground adjoining the fort. The cattle and horses were taken out under heavy guard and allowed to graze two hours each forenoon and again for the same time late in the afternoon, and this kept them all in good condition.¹⁶

¹⁵ The number is given variously by different authorities. Chas. F. Sims, a member of the emigrant train at Ft. Dilts, gives the volunteers as Lieut. Smith and thirteen men. *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, II., p. 436.

Gen. Sully in his official report of his expedition of 1864 gives the number as fifteen. *War of the Rebellion Records, Series I.*, Vol. 41, p. 153.

¹⁶ At first only a hundred head were fed at a time but after a few days the whole number, over 500, were taken out. The guard consisted of 100 unmounted men in 25 squads, arranged in a wide circuit about a quarter of a mile beyond the herd. The squads were within three hundred feet of each other and proved amply sufficient to keep off the Indians. Larned had a very intelligent shepherd dog, who was very useful in keeping the animals well bunched when he went out on guard duty. The dog was trained, also, to bring their cow to the wagon every morning to be milked. He never failed to find their cow in the big herd inside the corral and to bring her up at the regular time.

One morning at 8 o'clock some days after the fort was completed, as the guard was being changed on the little hill south west of the fort, several hundred Indians were observed gathering on the hills to the west. Fearing an attack was planned, the guard was increased but after some hours of waiting the men on the hill saw an Indian come down from the others alone, with arms outstretched. He had in one hand a stick with something fastened at the end of it. At some little distance from the hill he thrust the stick into the ground, beckoned for some one to come to him and then seated himself.¹⁷ Mitchell, one of the guard, went down to the Indian, shook hands with him and they smoked together. Then the Indian motioned to indicate that Mitchell was to take the stick back to his companions. It was split at the end and a piece of paper was held in the cleft. Mitchell carried it to Capt. Fisk and it was found that the paper contained a letter from Mrs. Fanny Kelly, a captive among the Dakotas. She had written the letter with a pointed bullet and it contained a warning not to trust the Indians in any way.¹⁸ The Indians were desirous of securing a ransom

¹⁷Larned learned afterward that this Indian was known as Porcupine. He became a good friend of the traders along the Missouri river and Larned found him honest and reliable.

¹⁸ For Mrs. Kelly's correspondence with Capt. Fisk see *Collections of the State Historical Society of N. D.*, II., 440.

for their captive but the negotiation came to nothing on account of mutual distrust.

Meanwhile Cap. Fisk had made preparations for continuing on his march. Fifty men were sent out on a scout and they reported that they had found a good road to the Little Missouri. The emigrants, however, had organized a council for the government of their own affairs and they had decided not to go any further. Before the clash with Capt. Fisk's authority had actually occurred, the relief expedition was sighted and active preparations were soon under way for their return. When the command arrived they were welcomed by the emigrants and the decision was reached to return at once.¹⁹ On the return trip the second night out, one of their flankers did not report to camp and he was never heard of again. Later, when two days march from Ft. Rice, the Indians attacked them early in the morning and succeeded in running off a part of their horses.

When they got back to Fort Rice, H. H. Larned drove the remainder of the herd to Minnesota because of the lack of feed in Dakota. His plan was to dispose of them in Minneapolis, as there was a brisk demand for work

¹⁹ One of the emigrants had a saloon outfit with which he planned to go into business at the mines. After the relief had arrived he sold his liquor to the soldiers at twenty-five cents a cup, until Capt. Davey interfered and stopped the traffic.

oxen for winter use in the pineries. He made this trip in company with some twenty other emigrants who had been members of the Fisk expedition, and 500 soldiers who were returning with the party. On his arrival in Minnesota he lost his shepherd dog which had been of such good service during their siege at Fort Dilts.²⁰

The emigrants after their experience in fighting the Indians were only too glad to return to Fort Rice in preference to continuing their journey without an increased escort. When they got back, the party divided and about twenty of the wagons returned to Minnesota. Another ten of the wagons with perhaps twenty of the men spent the winter at Fort Rice. The garrison at the fort that fall and winter was the First U. S. Infantry composed of ex-rebels from northern prison camps. While they refused to take up arms against the southern cause, they had no objections to fighting the Indians and they had been released from prison and sent up to Ft. Rice on parole. They were southern men, unused to the climate and unaccustomed to manual labor, and so, while good soldiers, they experienced considerably difficulty in do-

²⁰When they reached Fort Ridgely he tied the dog under his wagon and turned everything over to Isaac Brumbaugh, his helper. He then took the early morning Burbank stage. The dog saw him go from their camp to the fort and as soon as Isaac untied him he started off in the direction he had seen his master take. That was the last they ever saw of the dog though Larned afterward tried to find him and offered a reward for his return.

ing the work expected of them at the post. They hailed with joy the arrival of these emigrants and the newcomers were soon busily engaged in cutting logs and sawing them into lumber in the military sawmill, and in doing the carpenter work on the buildings at the fort. The ex-rebels gladly paid them for this labor and the wages were very acceptable to most of the emigrants. The remaining wagons, about fifty in number, went down the river and most of them, Larned was told, finished their return trip over the Platte the next spring.

The Larneds were among those who remained at the fort. Their stock of hardware was soon disposed of through the efforts of Larned's father.²¹ Young Larned was hired at Fort Rice by Maj. C. E. Galpin, who was in charge of the North West Co. store there. His first work was that of driving a team, hauling wood, water, and ice, and for his services he was given sixty dollars per month and board.

In February Major Galpin began taking an inventory of goods and furs on hand in preparation for another year's trade. His clerks in the store, although possessing a knowledge of the Dakota and French languages, which en-

²¹ He took the matter up by mail with every dealer in Benton, Helena, Virginia City, and possibly other mining camps, enclosing inventory and price f. o. b. Fort Rice. A sale was made to dealers in Helena and the goods were shipped by boat to that city, in care of Chas. A. Broadwater at Benton.

abled them to carry on the trading work easily, were very deficient in figures and writing and the work progressed but slowly. Larned's work ended at six o'clock and comprehending the difficulty in the store, he offered to help the Major during the evenings. His offer was accepted and the resulting inventory was so satisfactory as to win Larned his promotion as assistant in the store, at a salary of one hundred dollars per month. With characteristic energy he took upon himself the task of learning the Dakota language with the two Indians, Goose and Black Buffalo, as his teachers, and in two months he was able to carry on any conversation in Dakota which the traffic required.

In this Indian trade Goose for a time acted as a traveling solicitor between the North West Co. trading house at Ft. Berthold and the roving bands of hostile Dakotas to the south and west. He was, according to Larned, a most likeable man, highly moral, truthful and honest. In his capacity as trader he was invaluable and through him their Indian trade was greatly increased. But the Fort Berthold Indians were quite jealous of him, and especially of his connection with the North West Co., and of this Goose was well aware, so at his own advice and suggestion, his service for the post was terminated. An incident which occurred in the spring of 1866

shows the confidence which the North West Co. and particularly Maj. Galpin placed in Larned, and also the ability of the latter to win the trust and friendship of the Indians with whom he had come in contact.

Early in April a large war party of Dakotas made a raid on the herd of beef cattle, spare horses and mules at Ft. Rice while they were out grazing under an insufficient guard. The Indians drove off every animal in the herd, besides killing two soldiers. At that time the garrison at the fort consisted of eight companies of the 13th U. S. Infantry. The next day the commanding officer came up to the North West Co. store and held a consultation with Maj. Galpin, who was in charge. The result was that the government decided to replace the herd and agreed to pay ten cents a pound live weight for 100 fat steers, delivery to be made as soon as possible. Sioux City, Iowa, was the nearest place at which cattle could be obtained and preparations were made at once for the journey there. With the help of some of the soldiers a sturdy row boat was built, and on April 11, the next day after the ice went out of the river, Major Galpin and his fifteen year old son started out on a nine hundred mile boat ride to Sioux City. Young Larned was selected to se-

cure and deliver the cattle and he accompanied them on the trip.

They traveled at the rate of about 100 miles a day and when they were below Ft. Sully they saw a steamboat tied up to the bank loading on wood. When they reached the boat it proved to be the *Miner*, a North West Co. boat, and the voyagers went on board. Maj. Galpin was met by Hawley, the managing director of the company, and after the two men had had a short conference together the major returned to Larned and said, "Horatio, I find that I will have to go back to Rice on this boat, and you will have to do the best you can on the cattle deal." This left the responsibility for the whole affair with Larned. Hawley gave him an unlimited letter of credit on Weare and Allison's bank at Sioux City, and in ten minutes he and Sam (Maj. Galpin's son) were on their way.

They arrived at Sioux City without any mishap and Larned at once took his letter to the bank, where prompt attention was given to his requests. He was given a letter of introduction to a Catholic priest, living some ten miles across the river in Nebraska. This priest received Larned very cordially and went with him to the people of his parish, from whom he was able to purchase one hundred head of steers and ten cows, which were to be delivered and

paid for in Sioux City the next day. The cattle had to be driven all the way from Sioux City to Ft. Rice, a distance of 480 miles. Larned bought a wagon and supplies for the trip, and hired a man to help look after the herd.

From Sioux City they kept the cattle on the move quite continuously, halting at intervals to let them graze and rest and so reached Ft. Sully in good time and without any disturbing incident. From Ft. Sully there were still two hundred miles left to traverse before reaching Ft. Rice, and the trail the entire way led through a bad Indian country. This had given Larned considerable anxiety, but he showed excellent foresight and ability in handling this difficult situation.

He first made inquiry at the North West Co. post at Ft. Sully as to whether there were any hostile camps near. He found that some twenty lodges had been trading at the fort and had left the day before, expecting to camp a few days on a creek some twenty miles away. Larned then declared his intention of going to their camp though he was warned that he would never return, as these Indians were very hostile to all whites. But Larned procured a few presents and started for the Indian encampment. There he found Porcupine and spent that night as a guest in his lodge. He gave Porcupine the

presents he had brought, and told him that he had a herd of cattle at the soldier's fort which he intended taking to Fort Rice. He asked Porcupine to help him take the cattle to Fort Rice. In return for his aid Larned promised to give him the privilege of selecting from the store any goods he desired to the value of ten robes, and furthermore that he would pay Porcupine's fare on the steamboat to any place he wished to go.

Porcupine called in his soldier band, talked the matter over with them, and then agreed to accept Larned's offer. In ten minutes they were galloping over the prairies back to Fort Sully. Sam and Ben, the helper, had kept the whole herd together ready to move on so they headed at once for Fort Rice. The next evening after supper while they were sitting around the camp fire Porcupine related his war exploits with the whites and with his old enemies, the Crows. He told how two winters before he was fighting some whites on the edge of the Bad Lands and they piled up some earth around their camp so the Indians could not get at them. Porcupine added that they ordered a white woman, whom they held as a captive, to make a "talking paper." This they tied around a stick and he had taken it close to the white camp and stuck the stick in the ground. A white man,

he said, came out and took it back to the camp.

Larned leaned over, tapped Porcupine on the shoulder and said, "All you had on was a feather in your hair, a belt breech clout, and some moc-casins."

Porcupine, looking much surprised, said, "Who told you that?" "No one told me," replied Larned, "I was one of the six men in the little fort on top of that hill towards which you came. And moreover, I saved your life that time." "How was that?" asked the astonished Porcupine. Larned answered, "One of the six men was mad at you because your people had killed his brother a few days before, and he had his rifle cocked and sighted on you when you were putting that stick in the ground but I took his rifle away from him." Porcupine put his hand over his mouth in the way that Indians do when they are astonished, but said nothing. About three days afterwards they camped for the night on Blue Blanket Creek, reaching there about four o'clock. Porcupine asked Larned's permission to take his rifle, saying he would go out and get some fresh meat. Larned let him take it though it was the only one they had. Porcupine was very late in returning and Larned had begun to worry about the outcome, when the Indian came in with an antelope slung over his back. Larned gave him some supper and he

rolled up in his blanket under the wagon. In a day or two more they reached Ft. Rice with every animal safe, though some were lame and thin from the journey.

After their arrival at Fort Rice with the cattle, which was late in May, Porcupine was permitted to select the promised goods to the value of ten robes. Larned gave him good measure, and Major Galpin, who was standing by, added a handsome shirt, at the same time remarking that Larned's getting Porcupine to see them through was as good as an insurance policy. The Indian stayed with them a few days until the steamer, *Antelope*, stopped on her way down the river. Larned helped him carry his bundles down to the landing, paid the captain fifteen dollars for his passage, and bade him good bye, telling him he was much pleased with the help he had given in bringing up the cattle. Porcupine replied to the effect that he had done the best he could and that there was no split in Porcupine's tongue.

They turned the steers over to the commissary and a board of survey was appointed to settle with the company. Their decision was that the cattle were to have one week to get back to their normal weight and then their live weight would be determined.²²

²²The average weight was 1080 pounds per animal. Larned's notes record that the hundred steers cost them \$2885.00, and the sum of \$150 more than covered all the other expenses.

Two years later, when Larned was trader in the company store at Fort Berthold, a large camp came in to trade and Porcupine was with them.

An Indian named Drag-the-Stone, and his family, came into the store. Leaning his elbows on the counter and looking at Larned with a smile the Indian said, "I was going to kill you once." "How was that?" asked Larned. Drag-the-Stone replied, "That night you had those cattle on Blue Blanket Creek. I had been following you all day with ten men and we were going to wipe you out that night, but Porcupine came out to us and said he had promised to get those white men and their cattle through to Ft. Rice and he would do it or die." After imparting this piece of news the Indian and his family finished their trading and went out.

Larned was curious to learn more of this incident and got their Indian hunter, Bloody Knife, to go to the camp and ask Porcupine to come to his room that night. Porcupine came and Larned said to him, "What about that story Drag-the-Stone told me today about that camp on the Blue Blanket?" Porcupine smiled and answered, "You saved my life once and I didn't know it, and I saved your life and you didn't know it." Then laying his long fore fingers side by side he said, "That is the way we are now."

Larned's judgment regarding Porcupine was that in his sixty years of quite active acquaintance with men, he rated his Indian friend second to none, either white or red.

In the spring of 1866 Larned went to Fort Union, which was then in charge of James Kipp. The company's business at Fort Berthold was not in a satisfactory condition and in June, 1867, Larned was sent there to help get affairs in better shape. Durfee and Peck had bought out the North West Co. interest at Fort Sully, Fort Rice, Fort Berthold, Fort Union and Fort Benton. D. W. Marsh was put in charge at Fort Berthold and later he was sent to their newly established post trader's store at Fort Stevenson. Marsh spent most of his time at Fort Stevenson and in his absence Larned had charge of the trade at Fort Berthold. In this he had excellent assistance from Pierre Garreau, who was a power among all the Indians on the upper Missouri.

Far and wide, among the different tribes were carried the tales of Garreau's daring and prowess until he had been credited with more thrilling experiences and hair-breadth escapes than any other man in that part of the country. He was a man of good habits, a devout Catholic and a personal friend of Father De Smet who had long

carried on an active work among the hostiles.²³ It was of great assistance to any trading company in their dealings with the various tribes to have a man of Garreau's prestige among the Indians trading at their post.

The North West Co. and Durfee and Peck, their successors, always furnished the best class of goods for their Indian trade. Their government licenses forbade the sale to the Indians of either guns or liquor. The latter they tried hard to keep out of their forts, and, though their men sometimes got it from steamboats, it was not used in the Indian trade. This trade, during Larned's connection with the work, first at Fort Rice and later at Fort Berthold, was entirely barter, in which the buffalo robe was the unit of value, and all other articles were valued at a given number of these robes.²⁴

The annual inventory at Fort Berthold during Larned's term of service there amounted to about \$70,000, of which \$8,000 was counted as the value of the fort, buildings, and equipment. The balance of the inventory was for the goods

²³Father de Smet was known among the Indians as *Black Gown*. He visited Fort Berthold while Larned was there and he saw him again at Fort Union. Larned speaks in very high terms of his influence with the western Indians.

²⁴Thus two beaver skins, four deer skins, three wolf skins, one bear skin, and two elk skins were each considered equal to one robe in value. A fairly good pony would bring five robes, while a buffalo horse was worth from fifty to one hundred robes. It was not considered permissible for the owner to sell his fleet horse at any price except in an extreme case of distress.

and furs on hand. The goods were figured at invoice cost prices, and the furs as so many robes at \$2.50 each, which was about cost.²⁵ The work of tanning a buffalo robe was done by the Indian women, and required hard labor and considerable skill.²⁶

²⁵A 3 point red, blue, or black blanket (man's size) cost the company \$9.00 and brought 3 robes. A 2½ point blanket (woman's size) cost \$6.00 and brought two robes. Large quantities of brown sheeting, calico and blue denim were used in the trade. This cost the company about seventeen cents a yard, and five braces, 2 yds. each (Larned's outstretched reach) was a robe's value. They also had in stock some red or blue broadcloth which cost (double width) \$6.00 a yard, and a hand span or about eight inches bought a robe. The bulk of the trade, however, was sugar, coffee, hard-bread, and a little tea and bacon. The sugar was always of a light brown, a grade called mascovada which cost thirty cents a pound. A robe purchased six pint cups of sugar, or three cups of coffee, which cost sixty cents a pound. The lesser items were beads, tobacco, chinese vermilion, yellow ochre, indigo, arrow heads, powder and half ounce round balls; axes were from \$1.25 to \$2.00 each. The arrows and spear-heads which they had for trade were of iron, appropriately shaped.

²⁶The robe was first staked out on the prairie with the flesh side up. When thoroughly dry it was then subjected to a process called "fleshing." This was done by means of an adz like tool made from bone. This bone had a length of about 14 inches for the handle and a right angled turn of perhaps 4 inches. To the tip of the latter they tied a strip of band iron 3 by 1½ inches with stout sinew cords. This iron tip was sharpened enough to scratch or chop off the dried flesh without cutting the pelt. When they fleshy part of the robe had been removed in this way, the robe was smeared with a combination of wood ashes and animal brains, then folded with the flesh sides together, bound tightly, and left in that condition for days or weeks. When unfolded it was given a thorough washing. A stout raw hide cord was fastened to a stiff tree limb 8 feet or so from the ground, the lower end being securely fastened to a stake. Then the Indian woman fastened the robe flesh side down and sawed the robe back and forth across the tightly stretched cord. She continued this work until all parts of the robe were worked dry and soft. This always took an entire day in the most favorable of warm weather, while in cold weather it took two days. Skins that were intended to be made into clothing were staked out flat on the prairies and both sides dressed off with the same adz like tool. They were then treated with the mixture of ashes and brains, and given the same pulling, breaking and drying on the cord fastened to a tree limb. After this the skins were well smoked to prevent their becoming hard and stiff when wet.

About half of the Fort Berthold trade came from the 3000 Mandans, Arikara, and Hidatsa that lived at or around the fort. The remainder came from roving Dakota camps who would come in and stay a few days and then scatter over the prairies again. When a Dakota camp came in it was the custom for the chief, and from half a dozen to twenty of his men, to come inside the fort for what Larned termed a pow-wow. Pierre Garreau always took them into the company's Indian room and there a little feast of coffee and hardbread was given them. Then the pipe would circulate for an hour or more, while the visitors related all the Indian news from the western mountains to the Missouri, and from the Saskatchewan to the Platte. These news items, Larned said, were wonderfully accurate. They learned of the Fort Fetterman disaster from one of these Dakota trading camps, very soon after it happened. The old Indian room at Fort Berthold heard many wild tales such as make up the early history of a pioneer country, stories of heroism and treachery, of supreme achievement and of tragic defeat. After a time the talk would drift around to the subject of trading. Pierre would tell them what the company was paying for robes and after a final cup of coffee the Indians would go to their camp. The next morning the trade would begin

by one family or lodge appearing at one of the wicket gates with their packs of robes and furs. They were taken into the store and the packs opened. Usually the first purchases were sugar, coffee and hardbread.²⁷ Then frequently a lengthy argument took place between the men and women as to what the balance of their purchases should be. After a decision was reached the family was quickly served and, taking their goods, they went out while another came in, until the whole camp had completed their trading. This took from two to four days, the length of time depending upon the number of lodges or families in the party. At the close there was given a "tail," that is, some little gratuity which was presented to each family to establish a cordial feeling and help negotiations in the future.

One feature of these trading visits Larned describes as rather strange. The Fort Berthold Indians and the Dakotas were always at war, but when these camps came in to trade, they would pitch their tents close by the Mandans, Arikara, and Hidatsa and they would all visit in the most friendly way. But the next week the same band might organize a war party and make a vicious

²⁷The hardbread resembled a soda cracker in appearance but was made without shortening or leaven. It was about four inches square and an inch thick. The pieces were very hard and even with a sharp knife could be cut only with difficulty. They softened readily in water, and were often fried in bacon or pork fat. It formed the chief staple of a soldier's ration during the Civil War.

attack upon the Fort Berthold Indians. In these attacks the Dakotas, who were mounted, frequently got the worst of it from the Fort Berthold Indians, who usually fought on foot. After a battle of an hour or so, generally within sight or close by the Fort, the Dakotas would withdraw and the Fort Berthold Indians would devote several nights to the scalp dance. In these engagements the company never took any part except to close the main gates and hold themselves in readiness for anything which might develop. It was their fixed policy never to provoke an attack, though they were resolute in defense when an attack was made.

In one respect Larned's work at Fort Berthold showed especially good business management and pleased the company greatly. The men were all hired by the month and when they were not employed at hunting, Larned had them cut wood and pack ice which, with fresh meat, was sold to the steamboats stopping at the fort. This brought in enough money during the steamboat season to pay all the expenses of running the store, namely, the wages of from fifteen to twenty employees and their keep, leaving the return of the fur trade as clear profit. They employed an Indian hunter, the Arikara, Bloody Knife. Game was abundant and often two teams had to be sent out to bring in the game he killed.

The winter trade was conducted in the same fashion as the summer trade. The same men were in charge and it was generally carried on in the store. There were, however, camps of hostile Dakotas who would not come over on the east side of the river where the store was because of the proximity of Fort Stevenson, which was but twenty-seven miles distant. Goose and Bloody Knife, both Arikara, acted as emissaries to these Indian camps, and urged the Indians to bring their robes and peltries to the company store.²⁸

Larned was in charge at Ft. Berthold from June, 1868, to October, 1870.²⁹ In 1869 and 1870 the building of the Northern Pacific Railway became a certainty and Larned, with the foresight which characterized all his dealings, felt that this meant an end to their Indian trade and determined to establish himself in some permanent business. He then went to Lansing, Michigan, and with his savings from his work at the trading posts, amounting to \$3200, he bought a half in-

²⁸Goose was afterwards wounded and Bloody Knife was killed at the battle of Little Big Horn in 1876. See *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, II., 98, 109, 111.

²⁹Larned made the acquaintance of an old Indian at Fort Berthold called Long Mandan. This man told him of his boyhood recollections of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-06. His most vivid impressions were of Captain Clark who dressed strikingly in blue coat with brass buttons, white vest, silver knee and shoe buckles and his red hair hanging in a long cue down his back. To the boy this white man was a great hero and as he naively remarked, "He seemed about eight feet tall."

terest in a china and crockery store. After ten years he bought out his partner's share and after nearly fifty years of satisfactory business in this line, he sold out.

In August, 1893, at the height of the financial panic, the bank with which Larned had his transactions asked him to take a vacancy on their board of directors. Three other banks in Lansing had recently closed their doors. He accepted the vacant place on the board, buying ten shares of the bank stock at \$90 a share. The bank deposits had fallen from \$500,000 to \$167,000, but in the course of a week the depositors regained their confidence, and the business of the bank was continued without further difficulty.

Larned was a director for three years, vice-president for two years and then was elected president, holding this office for twenty-three years. He resigned his position and retired from the banking business in 1921.³⁰

During the period of depression following the panic of 1893 a number of the citizens of Lansing organized a town improvement company. The purpose of this company was to advertise the town of Lansing and improve business conditions. Each one of the twenty members put

³⁰ In token of their esteem the board presented him with a watch and chain inscribed, "Presented to H. H. Larned, Feb. 4, 1921, by the directors of the Lansing State Savings Bank in appreciation of 28 years of faithful service."

\$500 into the enterprise and publicly disavowed any desire for personal gain or benefit. Larned was a member and acted as secretary of the company, handling all funds for the concern.³¹

Larned's keenness and good judgment were turned to the advantage not only of his city but of his state as well. During the year following the Spanish-American War great dissatisfaction arose over the way the state government had handled the military funds. A grand jury was called to conduct an investigation and Larned was made foreman of the jury. The men whose manipulations were being looked into were very shrewd. After thirty days' effort the prosecuting attorney had been able to find nothing criminal against the men and was ready to give up the case. Larned then propounded a theory of his own and asked the jury and the attorney to help him work it out. They agreed to turn the affair over to Larned to manage in his own way and in a week the jury had found "true bills" against three men. These men were tried and sentenced to State's prison, while the state recovered \$65,000 of misappropriated money.

³¹ In two years the town had grown from a city of 13,000 to a city of 40,000 people. This was considered a quite remarkable growth for that part of the country and much credit therefore was given to the members of the improvement league. Every one of these eventually receives back his \$500.00. The place is now a city of 70,000 and is still growing.

In May, 1884, Larned revisited some of the scenes of his frontier experiences. Two of his friends had been eager to take a trip over the prairies. They accordingly went out on the Northern Pacific railway to Bismarck, hired a team there and went down to the Standing Rock Agency. There Larned met many of his former Indian friends, some of whom had been in the Little Big Horn battle of 1876. Arrangements were made with Major McLaughlin, the agent, for the services of Goose, as guide on their trip. They took him back to Bismarck and from there went by rail to Glendive where they procured horses and supplies for their trip. Under the guidance of Goose they struck out south and went into the Powder River and Big Horn region. They enjoyed thirty-five days of the old time roving life on the plains. They came to a camp of six lodges of Cheyennes and remained with them two days. Three of these men had been in the battle where Custer was killed. Larned asked the Cheyennes to tell him how long it was from the first shot to the last one in this battle. They knew nothing of reckoning time as the white man does, but pointing to a little peak about a mile and a half away one of them said, "Ride there and back here and shoot all done." Again in 1921 Larned revisited the scenes of his early life in Dakota territory, and while at Mar-

marth hunted for and found the place where the Indians attacked Fisk's party in their crossing of Deep Creek in 1864.³²

The State Historical Society is indebted to him for his active interest in the preservation of the pioneer history of our territory and state. His letters and interviews have furnished most of the material in the historical sketches relating to his experiences in the Missouri river country.³³

PIERRE GARREAU AT FORT BERTHOLD

Pierre Garreau was one of the daring and picturesque figures of the fur trading posts along the Missouri frontier. He claimed to have been of mixed blood, the son of a Turtle Mountain Frenchman and a Cree woman.³⁴ Garreau's features and general appearance gives credence to his claim to French parentage. According to his own account he was born in the Turtle Mountain country about

³²On this trip, while the train was halted at Mandan Larned saw through the car window a good looking Indian, and on going out to talk with him found that he was a nephew of Two Bears, an old and highly esteemed friend of Larned's. The Indian gave him his name and address and at Christmas Larned sent him a check for five dollars. The Indian, anxious in some way to show his appreciation of the gift sent him in return twenty-eight fine colored pencil sketches of old Indian scenes which Larned describes as being wonderfully correct in detail.

³³Larned is now nearly eighty years of age and still a resident of Lansing, Michigan. His mother died at his home January 31, 1892, twenty years after his father's death which occurred April 23, 1872. He has five children, three sons, Robert Y., Frederick J., and Edward S., and two daughters, Mrs. Kate Rennels and Mrs. Elizabeth Johnson. His wife died at Lansing, July 3, 1903.

³⁴In a letter of Dec. 1, 1923, H. H. Larned quotes Garreau's own words as to his parentage and gives his own impressions of this remarkable man. The above account was taken from his correspondence in which he describes his experiences at Fort Berthold. [Ed.]

1798 and lived there until after his fathers death.³⁵ When Pierre as a young man, he went with his mother to the Missouri country and lived with the Arikara.³⁶ He had heard many times of the white men's boats that passed up and down the Missouri river and he had a strong desire to see them. After his father's death he persuaded his mother to go with him to the Missouri river, where they lived with the Arikara and his mother was married to a warrior of this tribe.

Soon after Fort Clark was established (1831) Garreau was made a member of one of the keel boat crews. All the robes and peltries were taken down to St. Louis in these keel boats, and on the return trip the boats brought back loads of goods for the Indian trade. To take the boats down stream was an easy task but on the return voyage the boats had to be cordelled all the way, a most laborious task. Pierre went on several of these trips and was fond of telling of his visits to the "Brick Houses," as he called St. Louis. After one of these trips he remained in St. Louis for three or four years and worked in a bakery. But the wild called to him and he went back to Fort Clark to act as its hunter. His task was to keep the fort supplied with fresh meat, which was ordinarily no difficult task. But one year the buffalo did not come up on the west side of

³⁵Boller, who was in the Missouri Country, 1858-63, denies that Garreau was a half-breed and declares him to have been a full-blood Arikara. Boller says that Garreau's mother, a handsome Indian woman, was married shortly after her Indian husband's death to a trader named Garreau who adopted as his own the child which was born soon after. Boller, *Among the Indians*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 181.

³⁶Garreau was a fine specimen of manhood, Larned says. He was five feet ten inches in height, his chest girth measured forty-six inches and he weighed two hundred twelve pounds. He could perform remarkable feats of strength with the greatest ease. Among the shipments of goods received at the fort were kegs of what were called trade balls. These came in 300 pound kegs and it required two men to put one of these kegs on a wagon. But Pierre with apparently little effort would handle one of these kegs alone.

the river but had been driven away or had crossed to the east side. Garreau secured the service of a French employee of the fort and the two men, well mounted on fast hunting horses, crossed to the east bank of the river. Here they found plenty of buffalo and killed enough to load their horses. Night overtaking them near Dog Den Butte they camped in a little depression on the prairie where there was good grass and water. During the night they were ambushed by a party of Assiniboines and just at daylight a volley from the high ground near by mortally wounded Garreau's companion. Garreau sprang up, threw his gun out into the grass and holding his hands up, called out, "I don't know who you are, but I am Long Hair. Come in and get me, I don't want to lie here and be shot like a dog by my own camp fire." The party proved to be seventeen mounted Assiniboines, led by their famous chief, Red Stone. Elated at their easy capture of so noted a hunter as Long Hair, his captors started to bind his arms behind him but he said to them: "No, I will go with you without being tied." This pleased the Assiniboines and the whole party headed for their village northward, with Garreau marching on foot between two riders.

When no immediate danger threatens, it is the custom of Indians in traveling on the prairie to halt frequently for a rest, every six to ten miles. They then dismount from their ponies and take a smoke. When a war party stops to smoke it involves considerable ceremony. They squat in an irregular circle with some little interval between the members of the party. A young warrior steps inside the circle, fills and lights the pipe, and passes it to the chief to smoke first. Garreau, as a prisoner, had been placed within the circle for safe keeping. He gradually worked himself around until he was in front of Chief Red Stone. When the pipe had been filled and lighted the young man in

charge of this task was about to hand it to his chief. But Garreau reached out and seized it saying, "I smoke first. I am chief here."

At that Red Stone leaped up and raised his tomahawk to strike Garreau down. But Garreau, who was facing Red Stone, struck the chief's wrist a paralyzing blow with his left fist, which sent the tomahawk flying, and rendered his right hand powerless. Almost at the same instant Garreau seized the chief's side just below the ribs in a crushing grip with the same hand that had so effectively disposed of the tomahawk. At the same moment with his right hand he snatched a gun from the bosom of his hunting shirt and pressing it against Red Stone's body he began his death song. His act paralyzed the whole band, who sat like statues, while Red Stone could offer no resistance to the fearful grip of Garreau's hand upon his right side. Then Garreau halted his chant and called out: "Why don't you shoot, I am ready and this man is ready, and we will go together, but I did not want to go alone. I wanted some brave man to go with me and Red Stone, you are the man."

After a pause, a warrior shouted to him, "We don't want to kill you, Long Hair." Pierre called back, "If you do not kill me, I will not kill your chief. But you must start right off on the prairie and when you are out of sight I will let this man go."

The sixteen Assiniboines started for their horses but Garreau called out: "No, those horses are all mine to pay for my partner you killed this morning. Take all your things but leave the horses for me." A brief parley ensued but the Assiniboines were cowed by Garreau's daring and their chief was still in Long Hair's fearful grip. Willing to make almost any sacrifices to save their chief, the Indians finally departed on foot carrying with them their saddles and blankets.

When they were out of sight Garreau released his grip on Red Stone's side and said to him: "Red Stone, get your horse and go to your people and tell them what one brave man did all alone."³⁷

After Red Stone's departure Garreau mounted his own horse and hurried his captured Indian ponies to the river bank opposite Fort Clark. Then with two men he returned to his morning camp and brought in to the fort the buffalo meat he had secured the day before. The body of his companion was buried on the spot where he was killed.

This incident greatly increased his fame. Everywhere he went he received the homage which is given to brave men in a new country where both life and fortune depend upon the ability to think quickly and the courage to act promptly. Even the children used to follow him and stand outside his door to see the hand that "pinched the Assiniboine."

When Larned was assigned for duty at Fort Berthold under the North West Company he found Pierre Garreau there. His Indian name was now Arikara White Man (Padani Wasecun). Larned found him exemplary in his personal habits, strictly temperate, moral and honest. He was entirely without education and could not even write his own name. He was a devout Catholic and frequently wore a rosary which he said he had received from his father when a boy. Very often when sitting by the fire he was observed counting the beads of his rosary and repeating over some formula with each one. The Indians

³⁷Larned relates that the gun Garreau used on this occasion was a fine 16 gauge single barreled English shotgun that he had cut down to 6½ inches in length. Garreau carried it suspended about his neck by a string and it was concealed by his hunting shirt and his neckerchief. He adds: "I got him to show me that sawed off weapon and tell me the story. I fancy that I can feel yet the grip he gave me in showing how he grabbed Red Stone."

thought when they saw him doing this that he was carrying on a communication with the Great Spirit, and that in this act lay the inspiring source of what they called his strong medicine.

Pierre had great influence among the Indians and while Larned was in charge at Fort Berthold he found Pierre of great assistance. He managed the handling of the Sioux trade and had *carte blanche* in the kitchen for supplies for feasts to leading men of the tribe. The Sioux were mostly hostiles and did not venture into the fort because of their fear of the soldiers. Bloody Knife, employed by the company as a hunter, was one of their best runners to Sioux camps.

Garreau thoroughly understood the Indian nature, and this knowledge coupled with his own bravery and initiative brought him triumphantly through more than one dangerous crisis. Many stories illustrate his absolute fearlessness. At least twice did this remarkable man save the trading post at Berthold from capture.

In 1866 a war party of Dakotas rode out of the hills and came up to destroy the North West post at Berthold. They rode to within a short distance of the fort and dismounted, and about 100 warriors holding their blankets closely about their necks came up near the front gate and sqatted in a big circle on the ground.

They then began to lash themselves into a fury preparatory to attacking the stockade. First the chief danced around inside the circle telling what a brave warrior he was. He declared that they did not want the white men in their country and that they had come to wipe them out.

The garrison of whites watched this performance within a few rods of the front gate, but made no attempt to disperse the war party by firing into their midst. This was

in accordance with strict instructions from the North West Company that they were never to fire the first shot lest an unnecessary conflict might be precipitated. The Indians knew of these instructions and probably planned on scaling the stockade without firing. Once inside the stockade they would so outnumber the little garrison of six men that it would soon be destroyed. The Indian chief was followed by another warrior who boasted of his deeds, and then a third came forward.

At this moment Garreau came out of his room impressively dressed for the occasion in black trousers and a blue shirt with a red sash around his waist and a bright red handkerchief about his head. He held two long, bright knives in his hand and said to the men there: "Me stop that talk. Every Indian has a lariat under his blanket and pretty quick they will come over the pickets like birds and then we will be through very quick." A man opened the wicket gate and Pierre rushed out and jumped over into the circle.

He then gave a warwhoop and shouted, "I like to hear you brave men talk. I am a brave man myself." Halting before one of the warriors he boasted, "I killed your brother up in the Big Bend. All of you know about that. His scalp hung in my room many moons and every time I saw it my heart felt good."

Then throwing up his left hand he said, "And this is the hand that squeezed the Assiniboine. You all know about that. I have lived in your country many winters and never found a man as brave as I am, and I am looking for one here. I want some man to take one of these knives and I will take the other and we will see who is brave."

Garreau strutted all around the circle offering a knife to every one but none would accept it. Then assuming a look of disgust he taunted them with being nothing but a

lot of old women, fit only to do camp drudgery and ordered them to get away from him.

The Dakotas were so taken aback they could not answer. Perhaps awed by his effrontery, or cowed by the report of his prowess, they did not take up his challenge, and the war party was at an end. In thirty minutes they had mounted their ponies and were headed toward the hills. Larned was later presented with one of the knives which Pierre used on this occasion.

The other story of Garreau's saving the fort is less picturesque and more gruesome, though hardly less remarkable. It happened in the following manner. In December, 1862, a war party of about 20 warriors swooped down to make an attack on Fort Berthold. The fort was built square with the compass, and for defense had two blockhouses, one at the southeast corner and one at the northwest corner. These blockhouses were about twelve feet square and two stories high. The upper story was the same size as the lower but turned one-eighth of the way round. This left, for the men on the second floor, three triangular openings in the floor of about two and one-half feet on each side commanding the lower walls of the blockhouse. In both stories the port holes were placed so that the men could lie on the floor to do rifle shooting.

North of the fort and within a distance of one hundred feet were a number of dirt lodges and small log houses belonging to Arikara, Mandan and Hidatsa tribes of Berthold Indians. At this particular time the dwellings were vacant as the owners had all gone some thirty miles up the river to their winter quarters.

The Sioux war party planned to attack the fort by firing the lodges and log houses at a time when the wind was from the north. Then under cover of the dense smoke they would set fire to the fort itself.

They succeeded in firing the outside buildings. Pierre had a very good idea of what they would attempt next and stationed himself in the upper part of the north west bastion. The smoke was very dense but Pierre protected himself by wrapping wet cloths over his nose and mouth while he watched through the port holes for the next move on the enemy's part. Before long he saw an Indian named Grey Wolf running toward the blockhouse with a fire brand in his hand. In the lower story the port holes were about three feet high from the ground, and the Indian thought to fire the fort by shoving the fire brand through one of these port holes. Just as he attempted to do this Pierre dropped a lariat through one of the three cornered openings and caught the Indian around the shoulders and arms in such a way as to pinion his arms to his sides but left his hands so he could move them a little from the wrists and elbows.

Pierre's intention upon lassoing the Indian was to draw him up into the bastion, and hold him there, as a hostage, to prevent the other Indians from burning the fort. But when drawn up to the bastion the Indian managed to wedge himself across the opening with his hands in such a way that he prevented Pierre from drawing him any further. Whereupon Garreau terminated the desperate struggle by drawing his knife and cutting the Indian's throat. He then scalped him, at the same time shouting an invitation to the rest of the war party to come on and receive the same treatment as Grey Wolf.

But the fate of their companion struck terror to the hearts of the other Indians. The outside fire died down and under cover of the smoke the Indians departed, and the fort was saved. Pierre afterwards related this story to Larned and showed him the blood stains on the bastion walls. These stains for many years remained as mute

evidence to all the Indians of what they called Pierre's strong medicine.

Pierre's own three sons lost their lives in the warfare which was waged between the Sioux and the Arikara, Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. They were returning from a successful hunt when one of their pack horses threw his load of meat and ran away. The three brothers stopped behind the main body of the hunters to recover the pony and to bring in his load. When the young men did not return a well armed party with Pierre Garreau at their head started out in search of the missing hunters. Near the place where the boys had turned back they found them, scalped and their bodies riddled with arrows. After this tragedy Pierre was totally unfit to remain in the Indian camp as a trader and was soon recalled to Fort Berthold.

To Pierre Garreau, himself, it was not given to die in the warfare of the plains which had won him such fame. The end came sadly and obscurely for him at the old trading post in 1881. Aged, and somewhat infirm, and bereft of his family, he was living that year alone in his cabin. In some way the cabin caught fire and Garreau, unable to escape, was found dead just inside his door, where he had been smothered by the smoke. Thus passed one of the heroes of the upper Missouri, a famous partisan and hunter of territorial days.

THE AMBUSCADE OF THE GOLD MINERS

In his capacity as manager of the trading post at Fort Berthold, Larned came in contact with many different types of men. Some of these had known the west long before Larned's connection with the fort, and from them he heard many stories of the vicissitudes of life on the frontier. One such story was recounted to him by an old trader at Fort

Berthold named Jefferson Smith, or Old Jeff, as his associates called him.

Smith was a man of rugged character, whose life in the west went back to Jim Bridger's time. He was one of the rough, venturesome men which the west of that day produced, and, while a hard drinker, he was otherwise considered a man of good standing.

The event related by him took place some time before Larned's arrival at Fort Berthold, probably in 1864, though no one there could recall ever having heard a definite date for the occurrence.

Smith told Larned that a boat load of miners, 14 in number according to the Indians, 16 by Smith's account, stopped at Fort Berthold on their way down the river from the Idaho and Montana mines. They remained there two nights and one day. They were warned by the people at the fort that the west bank of the river was very unsafe on account of numerous bands of hostile Dakotas hunting there. They started from the fort in the morning, journeyed all day, and as evening approached they steered toward a big timbered bottom on the west side of the river, which seemed to offer a shelter where the evening meal might be prepared and camp could be made. As soon as the boat touched the bank one man sprang out and with a rope made the boat fast to a snag. Then all the other men rose up to go ashore when a volley from some Indians hidden in ambush at the top of a cut bank a few yards, or perhaps a few feet, away, killed every one of them. The Indians, when they saw their fire had taken effect, sprang out from their place of concealment and ran down to the shore. They rifled the dead bodies and the

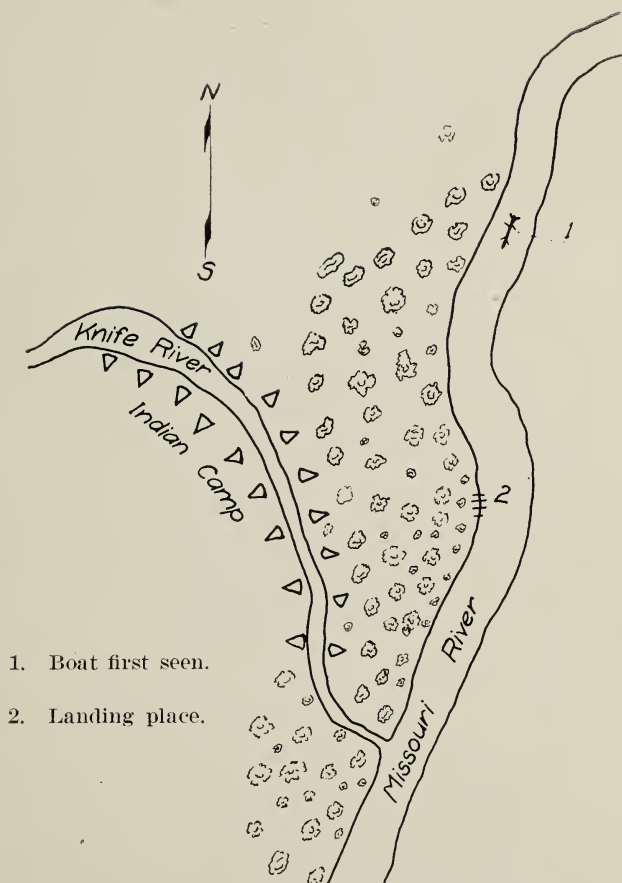
boat of everything they could use, scalped their victims, and left the bodies lying on the sand.³⁸

The bullets, fired at such short range, pierced the heavy planking of the boat so that it gradually filled with water and sank. One end was submerged in the shallows near the shore, and the other end, tied to the bank, remained above the water.

The news of the massacre later reached Fort Berthold, and one of the traders at the fort, taking a Ree Indian with him, went down to the place of the ambushade. Arrived there he sent the Indian off into the woods on the pretext that he wanted him to bring in some fresh meat. When he knew himself to be alone the trader began his search for the gold which, during their stay at Ft. Berthold, the miners had told him was in their possession. Concealed in a compartment built in the bottom of the boat he found a large quantity of gold dust and nuggets. The exact amount of the treasure was not known, but it was reported to be from \$75,000 to \$200,000. At any rate it was more than he could carry back to the fort, and so he brought it ashore and cached it.

When the Indian returned from his hunt the treasure had been safely hidden. The Indian himself later reported that he had noticed nothing unusual upon his return except that the boat as it lay half in and half out of the shallow water appeared to be somewhat torn up. He and the trader made their way back to the fort on foot. From

³⁸From a letter received from Mike Foley of Moorhead, Minn., who had relations among the massacred men, it appears that but 13 of the miners were killed, and that one, a Frenchman, managed in some way to escape. Later this Frenchman returned with two companions and found the sunken boat. They were set upon by the Indians and the Frenchman was killed. The other two escaped. The two who escaped were father and son and after the former died the son returned to search for the boat. He had forgotten its location, however, and was unable to find it.



FIRE HEART'S SKETCH OF THE PLACE OF THE MASSACRE
OF THE MINERS

From the original in possession of H. H. Larned.

that time the trader, who had always been a poor man, was observed to have plenty of gold. At one time Larned himself waited on this trader while in charge of the company store at Ft. Berthold, and in payment for a purchase of one hundred dollars worth of supplies he gave Larned gold nuggets valued at the rate of twenty dollars per ounce. This was in the winter of 1867-68 and Larned felt confident that he had, as rumored, secured the gold from that ill-fated boat of the miners.³⁹

The scene of the ambush has been located at several different points but the Indians who took part in the massacre say that Black Moon's and Fire Heart's bands were camped at the time in the edge of the timber on the north bank of the Knife River, not far from the bank of the Missouri. An Indian hunter from the camp saw the boat coming down the stream and heading toward the west shore. Eagerly he ran to the camp with the news. At once about twenty warriors seized their weapons and hastened to the bank of the river. They found excellent cover in the willows which lined the bank, and in a few moments the whole tragedy was enacted as above related.

Still further evidence of the disaster than that given in the story of Jefferson Smith was furnished Larned while at Ft. Berthold. Some time in March, 1865, Fire Heart and some forty lodges of hostile Dakotas camped about four miles from the fort. As was their custom they came to Fort Rice to do their trading. After they had disposed of their robes and furs one warrior still lingered until he and Larned were alone. Then he drew near the counter and producing a little buckskin bag of gold dust asked Larned if he would buy that. Larned had but recently

³⁹ See *Collections of the State Historical Society of N. D.*, VI., 183, for a similar instance. The trader was the same one referred to above.

entered upon his duties as trader in the store and felt that his authority did not warrant his decision upon so unusual a request, and he referred the matter to Major Galpin.

Major Galpin came in and examined the little bag and its contents. His close questioning of the Indian revealed the fact that the latter had no idea of the value of his possession. Then the Major reached into a little box and took out a large sewing thimble. He filled it rounding full of the gold and told the Indian that this was one robe's value. The Indian delightedly made the trade. Larned's recollection of the transaction is that the major got five thimblefuls out of that bag, paying the Indian at the rate of one robe for each measure of gold.

The Indian then went out, and within an hour two other Indians from the same camp came in. They had with them three little buckskin bags of gold. The major purchased the contents of these at the same rate of exchange. Larned never knew the full value of the four bags but says that the thimblefuls must have weighed at least one ounce each, and the dust was worth twenty dollars an ounce.

Major Galpin's curiosity was aroused as to the source of the gold, and he sent Fool Boy, who was the company's messenger and hunter at that time, to find out for him. The messenger went to Fire Heart's camp but the camp had gone. He followed it and in about three days returned with the news that the Indians said they had gotten the bags of gold in a fight with some white men just about the mouth of the Knife river a few moons before.

In September, 1867, Fire Heart and about twenty lodges of his band came to Ft. Berthold to trade. Larned paid the chief some little attention and persuaded him to draw a pencil sketch of the point on the Missouri river where

the above incident took place. This drawing is reproduced in the plate opposite page 86. Fire Heart related that about one hundred lodges of the Dakotas were in the camp on the Knife river. He said he did not take any part in the killing of the miners but he knew about it and had received some of the plunder.

THE KILLING OF CAPT. CADY BY LITTLE CROW

This incident took place the next year after the Indian war in Minnesota. The Indians were defeated and Little Crow and his people were forced to retreat to the James River and Devils Lake region. When spring came Little Crow tried to persuade his warriors to return to the white settlements and renew their raids, but the men feared to make the attempt.

Determined to show his men how easily an attack could be made, Little Crow and his son, a boy of about 16 years of age, started for the Minnesota settlements. At Kingston, in the Crow River country, the two Indians came upon a white family, killed the father, took two horses and what plunder they could carry and started back to their people.

Captain Cady and Company A, 8th Minnesota, had been stationed at Kingston all winter, and he at once sent out squads of soldiers to scour the surrounding country and find the marauders. Captain Cady himself headed one squad and discovered the trail of the fugitives, which led out of the woods to the prairies. He pushed his men hard and by the middle of the afternoon they came in sight of the fleeing Indians. The Indians threw away their plunder to lighten their loads and rode furiously on. The soldiers pursued them hotly and continued to gain.

They were all travelling in a westerly direction and the Indians finally came to a long, narrow lake in the path of their flight, Lake Lillian. The soldiers were following them too closely to allow of their going around the lake. So they jumped off their horses and ran out to a point of land, which had a thicket upon it, some forty feet in diameter, of thick hazel brush, and a few oak trees. The Indians dodged into this brush and here they were screened from view.

When the soldiers came up Captain Cady wanted to charge into the brush after the Indians but this the soldiers refused to do. He then rushed in alone and just at the edge of the thicket Little Crow rose up. He and the captain exchanged shots at the same instant and Captain Cady fell dead. The soldiers immediately started back to Kingston but some time after dark they faced about and went back to where their captain had fallen. They got his body, picked up the plunder the Indians had thrown away, and taking with them the Indian ponies which they had previously captured, they returned to the fort. The Indians had left the thicket and made their escape on foot as soon as night came on.

Larned knew the details of the story up to this point because his company, Co. C, 1st Minnesota Rangers, were called on as the nearest available troops and they were on the spot within three days. The blood of Captain Cady could still be seen on the ground where he had fallen. Larned's company started out in search of the Indians but they were travelling on foot and no trace of them could be found. The rest of the story Larned later heard from the son of Little Crow himself. Little Crow was much averse to going back to his people with nothing to show for his raid as this would mean the failure of his efforts to organize the Indians for another attack. So

he and his son made a circuit toward the settlements and reached them about three miles from Hutchinson, which lies in the timber.

As they were skulking along they came suddenly upon a white man, who with his son was out looking for stray cattle. The white man and Little Crow both fired at the same instant and each fell dead. The two boys were thus left alone and both hid until night. Then the white boy escaped to the little town. Little Crow's son, under cover of the darkness, crept up to his father's body and got his gun, which was a double-barrelled shot gun, and started west to find his people.

The white boy returned to the scene of the tragedy with some men from the settlement and recovered his father's body. One of the men in the party was a half-breed and he recognized the dead Indian as Little Crow.

The son of Little Crow traveled toward Devils Lake and found himself very short of food. All he could get to eat was frogs and roots but one day he saw a wolf go into its hole. He went to the spot, sat down outside the den, and waited. When the wolf came out he shot it, but only succeeded in wounding it. As he had used his last load he drew his knife, attacked the wounded and enraged animal, and finally killed it. But in his fight with the wolf his leg got so badly mangled that he was unable to travel. He now had wolf meat to live on but could not get away. In a day or two a scouting party of soldiers found him and took him to General Sibley, who was on his march against the Indians. The boy was held with these troops all summer as a prisoner of war.

Later he was tried by a court martial and held as prisoner with a number of other Indians. He remained in captivity until the summer of 1869, when he was pardoned. Larned saw him once at a camp of Indians near Fort

Randall, S. D., and it was then that Larned heard the story of what befell Little Crow and his son after their escape from Lake Lillian, where Captain Cady was killed.

THE ESCAPE OF THE INDIANS FROM GEN. SIBLEY'S ARMY

"When we went into camp on the banks of Apple river a few mounted Indians could alone be seen. Early the next morning I dispatched Colonel McPhail, with the companies of the Mounted Rangers and the two 6-pounders to harass and retard the retreat of the Indians across the Missouri river, and followed with the main column as rapidly as possible. We reached the woods on the border of that stream shortly after noon on the 29th, but the Indians had crossed their families during the preceding night, and it took but a short time for the men to follow them on their ponies. The hills on the opposite side were covered by the men, and they had probably formed the determination to oppose our passage of the river, both sides of which were here covered with a dense growth of underbrush and timber for a space of more than a mile. I dispatched Colonel Crooks with his regiment, which was in the advance, to clear the woods to the river of Indians, which he successfully accomplished without loss, although fired upon fiercely from the opposite side. He reported to me that a large quantity of transportation, including carts, wagons, and other vehicles, had been left behind in the woods."⁴⁰

"While I was at Berthold a camp of Santees came in from the Mouse river country to trade. These Santees

⁴⁰ From the report of Gen. Sibley in *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian War*, St. Paul, Minn., 1893, II., 301.

were all of them Minnesota Sioux and had taken part in the Massacre there in 1862 and most of the party had been with the Indians which Sibley had chased into the Apple Creek bottom. This trading camp came to us I think in the fall of 1867. One evening old Pierre Garreaux and I made a little feast in his room and invited about five of the warriors to partake. One of the five we knew as "Other Day's son" (this, however, was not his Indian name). He told Pierre and me in the presence of the other four Indian guests that when they reached the river bank most of the warriors were sent along the eastern edge of the timber for purposes of defense while the rest of them devised and provided ways to cross the river. This man said that he swam to an island with a cord in his teeth using the cord to pull a strong rope over. He fastened his end of the rope to a tree and it was pulled taut. By that time others had cut many dried logs which they made into rafts using four logs in each roped together. These rafts were each of them loaded first with the people and hauled hand over hand to the island. Then they took over their goods and effects in the same way. The warriors were called in and taken over. Then they and the same appliance and the same rafts towed around the head of the island to cross from the island to the main shore on the west. He said the Indians all disappeared but the warriors staid close by hoping that Sibley would try and cross the river in boats or rafts and they would kill the soldiers as fast as they reached shore.

"This trading party had two white captives. One a boy 16 or 17 years old, and a girl about 12. We asked them to come and live with us but strange to say they preferred to stay with their Indian captors.

"In the three hours or more that our Santee guests were with us they told us many things connected with the

Minnesota massacre that left a belief in my mind that the big hanging at Mankato did not get all who were well worthy of the same treatment.⁴¹ One incident was of much interest to me and that was the details of the killing of Captain Cady by Little Crow. Captain Cady was an intimate friend of our family at Anoka, and he was one of the finest men I ever knew."⁴²

⁴¹ That night after our guests had gone old Pierre and I sat a long time at his fire discussing the events we had just heard about. I recall one quaint remark old Pierre made, and that was, "Le sauvage, she no fool." Pierre's French was better than his English."

⁴² From a letter written by H. H. Larned, Oct. 17, 1923.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF NORTH
DAKOTA PIONEERS**



O. F. SPERRY

FRANK VIETS

ANDREW MARSH

FRANK VIETS

Brazilla Viets, the great grandfather of Frank Viets, was born in Holstein, a duchy of Germany. He received a college education, graduating with a medical degree. He came to America in 1777, and practiced his profession for some years. After his marriage he moved to a farm near St. Albans, Vermont. Jesse Viets, Frank's grandfather, was born at St. Albans, and lived there with his family until 1820 when he moved with his family to Ohio. Frank's father, Rodney Viets, was born in St. Albans, Vermont, coming to Ohio with the family in 1820.¹ While living at Amboy, Ohio, Rodney married Lucinda Wood who was born near Conneautville, Pennsylvania. Her family was also of German extraction (Pennsylvania Dutch) and prominent in northern Ohio. Her father's name was John and her mother's name Eliza. Her brother Henry, a well known wealthy farmer, remained at the family home in Pennsylvania, while the two other brothers, Lyman, a prominent lake captain, and Hiram, a farmer and flour mill owner, moved to Amboy, Ohio.

Rodney Viets was the first Campbellite minister in northern Ohio and a very prominent man in his community. From 1848 to 1854 he was a postmaster for the Ohio Stage Company, which had the contract for mail and passengers from Cleveland eastward and Erie westward. A Concord coach was on this stage line. In 1851 Rodney Viets built the first steam saw mill with a vertical saw in northern Ohio at Saybrooke, a few miles from Amboy.

¹ F. H. Viets, *A Genealogy of the Viets Family*, 1902, p. 132.

The timbers for the mill were of white oak and were cut and hauled a mile from the mill site. For putting up the frame of the mill all the men in the community, about forty, volunteered their services. The heavy tackle was borrowed from Ashtabula Harbor, and with the help of the volunteers under the direction of Moses Wright, the boss carpenter of Saybrooke, the timbers were put in place, the work taking two days. The men drove in from the surrounding country in the morning, were given dinner, and drove to their homes in the evenings. The engine, which was purchased in Ashtabula, was hauled on a wagon to Saybrooke. Cassell, the owner of the foundry at Geneva, Ohio, and his two boys helped set up the engine and make the connections. This sawmill was built in the midst of a great forest of basswood, hickory, white oak, butternut, walnut, and hard maple. Viets cut from four hundred to five hundred feet of lumber a day and this was hauled to Ashtabula until the railroads were built.

Frank Viets was born March 12, 1839, in Saybrooke, Ohio. He attended the district school until he was fifteen. He then aided his father on the farm and at the steam sawmill, hauling lumber to Ashtabula. He lived there until the Civil War began.

Under the charge of Captain Dennis Kenney there was a gun squad at Geneva, Ohio, which was a part of the battery at Cleveland. This battery was organized by Colonel Barnett, who later was General James Barnett, Brigadier General, and chief of staff under General Thomas. The gun squad and battery were a part of the state militia, whose officers were named by the governor of Ohio. Frank, receiving his father's permission, went to Geneva, April 17, 1861, and obtained Captain Kenny's promise to enlist him

in case any of his squad could not go. Captain Kenny called Frank by special messenger, April 21, 1861, to report at Geneva. On the same day the squad with their gun, a six-pounder, reported for duty at Cleveland. The battery had dinner served in the Park by the wives and mothers of the men in service. Each service man was given a small Bible and a basket of lunch. Their group consisting of a hundred fifty-six men, with six guns and a cassion for each cannon, left that night for Columbus, Ohio, where they were ordered to report. Arriving at Columbus, they took on more ammunition, powder in kegs, and solid shot, and continued to Marietta, arriving at noon. Here they were stationed at the Fair Grounds, the Fair buildings being used for barracks. They remained at Marietta for five or six weeks, drilling and waiting for horses. In answer to advertisement from sixty to seventy horses were brought in from the surrounding country. These were judged by Sergeant J. Shield and paid for by Colonel Barnett.

The 14th Ohio regiment under Colonel J. B. Stedman and Barnett's battery were ordered into western Virginia to repair the B. & O. bridges and clean up the rebels. They crossed the Ohio by ferry to Parkerburg, rebuilding the bridges. They disembarked at Webster and marched to Philippi, West Virginia, June 8. Here they had an engagement and broke up a Confederate recruiting camp, the 1st West Virginia regiment under Colonel Kelly, who was severely wounded in the right lung. At Lowell Hill they broke up another rebel recruiting camp, capturing some recruits, but all the officers escaped. Word came at this time of a rebel force marching from Virginia, through the Blue Ridge and across the pass at Carrick's Ford. This force moved up and on the west side of the pass they met this Confederate force under General Garnet

from Lee's headquarters. There followed a hot fight during which General Garnet, a fiery Southerner, was killed about evening. The Union forces captured all the transportation and drove the rebels back from West Virginia. General Garnet's body was sent back over the pass by Federal troops to Virginia. One piece of the Southern artillery, a six pounder, taken at this battle now stands in Cleveland Park.²

The enlistment time being almost over they went back to Camp Chase, Columbus, Ohio, where they were sworn in and mustered out the same day. Viets returned to his home, and later, as first lieutenant, he and Captain Kenney raised Battery C, first Ohio Light Artillery. They then went into camp at Camp Dennison near Cincinnati, Ohio. They were sworn in September 9, 1861, receiving the necessary guns, horses, and equipment and moved into Kentucky early in October over the Cincinnati bridge to Camp Dick Robinson, which was named after the Union owner of the land. Camp Dick Robinson was a camp for refugees from East Tennessee who had fled from Confederate conscription. Three regiments were organized and drilled from these Tennesseans, who were dressed in butternut shirts, overalls, and shoes. These regiments were first ordered to go to eastern Tennessee, through the Cumberland Gap, but were ordered back to meet General Zollicoffer, who had invaded Kentucky.

They met and fought General Zollicoffer at Mill Springs.

²"This was the first light artillery fired by the national forces in the war of the rebellion." House of Rep., Report No. 1853, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 3. (To accompany H. R. 619.)

The necessary legislation to make this body of state militia a part of the national army at the time of the fight was secured by T. E. Burton of Ohio, who introduced House Bill 619, (57th Cong. 1st Sess.). "An Act Providing for the recognition of the military services of the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery." Approved Dec. 19, 1902.

Viets' brigade was in charge of Frye or McCook, ranking Colonel, and Thomas was six miles away with the brigade. General Zollicoffer was entrenched on the Cumberland river and advanced between the two forces, falling upon the first brigade accidentally instead of outflanking it on the left. First Lieutenant Viets had two guns in the edge of the wood aiming at the Fourth Kentucky regiment at their rear and right. Two Confederate regiments marched toward them. When the Confederates were about six blocks off Viets opened fire, two shots being all that was necessary. The first shot killed the color bearer and did terrible execution while the rest of the regiment ran, throwing away their knapsacks, guns, and equipment. The Confederate troops were further disorganized when General Zollicoffer's staff blundered into Frye's 4th Kentucky regiment and General Zollicoffer was shot by a chance fire from Frye's pistol. Thomas arrived and the army followed the Confederate troops back to their entrenchments and camp, taking their wagons, cannon, and boat. Thomas was made Brigadier General for this victory. Colonel Frye and General Zollicoffer were personal friends, and Colonel Frye and some of his brother officers had the general's body sent in a fine casket to his home at Nashville, Tennessee. Frye declared he would never have fired had he known of General Zollicoffer's presence.

After Mill Springs the division was ordered to Louisville to join Buell's army and to take the transports down the Ohio river and up the Cumberland to Fort Donelson. The Cumberland river was very hard to navigate because of the high water and obstructions, so that the fort had fallen before they arrived. They went on to Nashville, disembarking under Buell's command, and marched to Tennessee river to take part in the battle at Pittsburg Landing. They did not arrive until the evening of the second day

because their march had been over sandy, marshy land, only covering two or three miles a day. Viets' battery wagon, their tents and food were always there even when General Thomas' wagons had not arrived. Captain Kenney being sick, Viets was in command of the battery and in the saddle more than half of the thirty days. The Federal forces using siege operations drove the enemy back to Corinth. General Johnston was buried on this battle field and Viets saw his grave.

Grant left for Vicksburg, while the Cumberland army, including Viets' command, went with Buell east into Alabama, then back to the Ohio because General Bragg was cutting off their communication in Kentucky. On this march the forces met many negroes who were carrying on plunder on every side, taking everything they could lay their hands on. Viets saw many valuable carriages being drawn by mules or cows. It was commonly said that they met as many negroes, carriages, pigs, and cattle as there were soldiers.

The army was rested, paid, reorganized and moved to meet Bragg at Perrysville. General Buell used green troops while about fifty thousand veterans under Thomas and Sherman lay inactive when they could have been used to cut off Bragg's retreat through Dansville and the Cumberland Gap.³ The Federal army under Rosecrans marched to Nashville, where they registered U. S. A. at the hotel, Maxwell House, writing their names under a page of officers marked C. S. A., and then on to Lookout Mountain. Viets had to leave the army here because of a rupture, which was the result of being thrown against the pommel of his saddle at the battle of Mill Springs.

³The old soldiers commented on the fact as they recalled that Bragg and Buell were brothers-in-law. The rebels got away at Perrysville and Buell was relieved of his command.

In 1864 he married and lived on the farm till 1865-66 when he began working for the railroad. He supervised the grading of about six miles of road bed near Saybrooke, Ohio. Upon finishing this he obtained a sub-contract from Robinson and Worthington, a Canadian firm from Ontario. The work upon these railroad beds was done mostly by Irish immigrant laborers with their wheelbarrows. In the latter part of the year 1867 Viets decided to leave Ohio and go to Denver, Colorado. The Kansas and Pacific railroad was being built through the west and had reached Ellsworth, Kansas, near Fort Ellsworth. Viets sold his property at Saybrooke and made arrangements for his wife to remain in Ohio until he established their home in the west. He found the town of Ellsworth inhabited by the lowest class of people, with very little law and order. A desperado gang led by William Haycock (Wild Bill), Joseph Smith, and James Currie controlled Ellsworth and the railroad interests. William Haycock and Joseph Smith held the office of marshall at different times. Joseph Smith lost his life while holding this office. A herder in order to assist his companion to obtain his freedom from arrest, killed Smith by cutting his head off with an ax.

While at Ellsworth, Viets saw a chance to make money rapidly by selling a high grade of wine to the Mexican greasers, who came here with wool from the Southern ranches. He arranged with some Kansas City brewers to ship him carload lots of liquor in fifty-six gallon barrels, which he sold to the Mexicans at a large profit.⁴

Viets met Bill Cody here, the famous "Buffalo Bill" of

⁴The greasers carted this liquor in ox carts, eight yoke of cattle to a wagon, to New Mexico, where they sold it at a large profit as they reduced it to 85% alcohol. The owners of the wool handled all the money and bought the liquor.

the prairies. Bill Cody was buffalo hunting, as he had signed a contract with the railroad to furnish meat for the men. He made two trips a week to the prairies, bringing in meat from three or four buffaloes each trip. He would ride out on the prairie, sight a herd, ride alongside a buffalo, shooting it from behind. He would then cut off the hind quarters and the rump without skinning, put them in his wagon and drive back to town.

The railroad was being pushed on rapidly from Ellsworth to Denver in the latter part of 1868 and the beginning of 1869. The men working on the Union Pacific railroad helped the Kansas-Pacific railway to complete their road. Viets moved from Ellsworth to Denver as the railroad building progressed. Mrs. Viets made several trips west to visit him during these years.

The next big project was the building of the Northern Pacific railway from Duluth west. Many railroad contractors in the south became interested in this new field of operation in the Dakotas. Viets decided to follow his friends to this new country, so he returned to Saybrooke, Ohio, and in July, 1870, he and his wife and four year old daughter left Ohio for the Red River valley. Other factors which influenced him to make this trip was Carlton's book on the Red River valley and the reports of the Hudson Bay Company at Georgetown.

The journey to their new home was made by boat, by railroad, and by prairie schooner. They went from Cleveland, Ohio, to Duluth, Minnesota, by the Great Lakes, taking passage on the steamer *Kewenau*, a side wheel passenger boat, under the command of Captain Stewart.

This steamer was the only passenger boat on the Lake.⁵

The St. Paul and Duluth railway had just been completed on their arrival at Duluth. An excursion from St. Paul came the second day after the road was completed. A real frontier celebration took place at the Clark Hotel in honor of the event. Salmon P. Chase, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury, and his handsome daughter Kate were among the St. Paul guests at the banquet. They went on the train from St. Paul to St. Cloud, the end of the line. At St. Cloud he bought a team and a prairie schooner, with which they made the rest of their trip to Georgetown.⁶

They drove over the stage road running from St. Cloud to McCauleyville. They passed their first night at a farm house at Cold Springs, and the second night, which was Saturday, at Sauk Center. Sunday they had dinner at Osakis, spending the night at Alexandria, where they remained for the day. Viets met Knute Nelson, later Senator Nelson, at the government land office in Alexandria and consulted with him about some surveyed land east of the Red river. They drove from Alexandria to Evansville, a stopping place for travelers. The next station on the line was Old Crossing, a drive of forty miles, including the crossing of the Otter Tail river by means of a ferry operated by a rope and pulley. After a hard drive they reached McCauleyville, where they remained a day in order to obtain information about land and roads. While there they stopped at the Harris place just outside of McCauley-

⁵The trip from Cleveland to Duluth took eight days with stops at Detroit, Port Huron, Sand Beach, Harbor Beach, Bay City on the Saginaw river, Mackinaw, Hancock, Houghton, Sault Saint Marie, Cooper Harbor, Ashland, and Duluth. The whole voyage was very rough, and the Viets family were seasick most of the way.

⁶They took with them in the schooner a stove, food supplies, a bedstead, springs, the necessary dishes and furniture, as this wagon was their home on the trip.

ville. From McCauleyville to Georgetown there was no defined road and few settlers. The first day Viets drove as far as the Probstfield homestead, a drive of forty miles. Probstfield had come to this country some years before as a clerk of the Hudson Bay Company. His farm was about three miles north of the later site of Moorhead. When the railroad reached there in 1871, Probstfield moved his family to Minnesota Point as he was opposed to the railroad and the people (floating population) that came with it. On the following day they arrived at Georgetown, where they found George R. Hutchinson, an employee of the Hudson Bay Company, living on his homestead four miles south of Georgetown.

Viets and his family decided to spend the winter of 1870-71 at Georgetown. He bought a house from the Hudson Bay Company for a hundred dollars. Adam Stein from St. Cloud was living in this house at that time. Walter J. S. Traill was agent and George Weston was clerk for the Hudson Bay Company that winter. Viets signed a contract with Traill to haul lumber from St. Cloud and Alexandria. The lumber was used for remodeling his house into hotel. On one of his trips Viets was accompanied by his wife and child whom he left at the Harris place at McCauleyville, while he went on to St. Cloud to bring back furniture, bedding, and the supplies needed for the winter.

The new hotel of Viets was remodeled by a transient, named Smith, and was called the Georgetown Stage Station. There were accommodations for a dozen travelers, and it became a very popular stopping place. In June, 1871, a group of prominent men stopped for three days at this hotel. Canfield, a director of the Northern Pacific railroad, helped to organize this expedition of over fifty editors of eastern papers, while Jay Cooke financed the

party.⁷ From the end of the railroad near Brainerd, the Northern Pacific Company sent a wagon load of supplies, tents, blankets, and canned goods to Viets for this party. From forty to fifty of the men slept in one large tent near the hotel. Later, this party took a steamboat trip from Georgetown to Fort Garry on the steamer *International* as the guests of the Hudson Bay Company.

In March, 1871, four British military officers, who were returning from the Riel Rebellion, were brought by half-breeds with ponies to Georgetown. They were anxious to reach Morris, Minnesota, to take the train which ran only at certain times, and they paid Viets a hundred dollars in gold to take them there with his fast team. They left at five o'clock in the morning. Viets exchanged the Canadian gold at the office of the agent at Morris for a hundred thirty-five dollars in greenbacks. With twenty-seven dollars of this he purchased the first breaking plow used in what is now North Dakota. This first plow was a Monitor with a twelve inch blade. The Hudson Bay Company borrowed it for their land at Georgetown, preparing ground for crops. It was used, too, by a Norwegian living a little south of Moorhead on the west side of the river. Viets used this same plow in breaking land on the east side of the river, near East Grand Forks, on the land which was later owned by W. C. Nash. Potatoes and smaller vegetables were the usual crop at that time, no one raised wheat in this section in 1871.

The survey made in the fall of 1870 by the Northern Pacific line crossed the Red River a half mile north of the mouth of the Elm river. During that winter six sur-

⁷ Among this group were William Windom, V. P. Colfax, Bayard Taylor, one of the Harper's representatives of the *New York Sun*, and Ex-Governor Brough, representative of the *Chicago Tribune*, *St. Louis Republican*, and the *Buffalo Courier*.

veyors remained on the west bank of the Red river, holding down the land which the Northern Pacific Railway wanted. In the spring land seekers, learning of the survey, squatted on the land near the supposed right of way at the Red River crossing, remaining here until the last of June. About this time the Company decided to use a more southerly route and the survey was changed. The Company planned to draw off their surveyors quietly and give the squatters the slip until the land along the actual right-of-way was located. Canfield, one of the managing directors, arranged with Viets to transport these surveyors to the new crossing at Moorhead. The surveyors crossed from their camp by boat to meet Viets, who came down to the bank at dusk. He carried them and their baggage to a point in the timber just south of the Probstfield farm, returning to Georgetown in time for breakfast. This was done so successfully that the squatters had no inkling of what had happened until the next day. In the afternoon these men, among whom were Jake Lowell, later of Fargo, Beck, his brother-in-law, and Sanborn, came to Georgetown to learn of the new location of the surveyors and where the new crossing was to be located.

1870 was the first year for the steamer *Selkirk*, which had been built at Dave McCauley's sawmill. It arrived at Georgetown in April with about a hundred and fifty passengers and a large quantity of freight. There were two large barges attached to the boat also. Alex. Griggs, the captain, told Viets that the passengers and freight for two trips had practically paid for the boat. The *Selkirk* was owned by Hill, Griggs, and Company.

The Northern Pacific reached Moorhead December, 1871. In the spring of 1872 Blakely and Carpenter established a stage line from Moorhead to Pembina. The stage stations upon this line were: Georgeown, the first relay,

the coach going from there to Elm river, the second relay, arriving at Goose river for dinner at the hotel owned by Asa Sergeant and Clark. Between Goose river and Grand Forks, the night station, the coach stopped at Frog Point, getting fresh horses. From Grand Forks to Pembina there were six stations and relays: Dave Stewart's (the old Hoffman farm), the Turtle river, Joe Colosky, Gus Williams, Kelley's Point, and Hugh Biggerstaff. They had dinner at Kelley's Point. A little later Blakely and Carpenter had an express and passenger line on to Fort Garry.

Viets learned from travelers stopping at Georgetown that cattle commanded a good price at Winnipeg, and he decided to begin buying cattle. He sold his hotel and other property at Georgetown to Cole, a stage driver, in the winter of 1872-73. After selling out he and his family took a trip to Saybrooke, Ohio. He left his wife and daughter at the old homestead in which he had retained an interest, while he returned to Minnesota.

J. E. Dow, his brother-in-law, joined him in his cattle enterprise. The two men went first to a German community in Sauk Valley, Minnesota, and rode about on horseback, bargaining for the cattle. They preferred to buy four year old steers, paying thirty-five dollars for the average. They drove the cattle, with the help of two or three dogs, from the valley until they crossed the river at St. Cloud. From St. Cloud to Winnipeg they drove in a covered wagon drawn by oxen, and their saddle horses and the cattle followed them. Camp was usually made about three or four o'clock in the afternoon to allow the cattle time to graze. They followed the old stage route from St. Cloud to Pomme de Terre. A bad storm with a good deal of lightning, rain, and wind broke upon them here, causing them to lose a whole day in rounding up the cattle that had scattered during the storm, but they did not lose any. Upon leaving Pomme de Terre they

left the road and crossed directly to the Red river, passing the present site of Fergus Falls. They crossed the river with the oxen and wagon on the ferry, the cattle swimming after them. They reached Georgetown on the last of May, 1873, averaging about twelve miles a day on this part of the trip. They reached Winnipeg on the twelfth of July, or Orangeman's day.⁸

Winnipeg was a small place in 1873, having about three hundred inhabitants. Fort Garry, the old fort with its stone gateway and temporary stockade, was built in the '50's of white oak timbers cut from Minnesota Point. John McTavish was in charge of the Hudson Bay Company here. Viets and Dow sold their two hundred cattle to McTavish at the average price of seventy dollars a head. As the need for cattle was so great the custom house in Canada charged a very small rate, only four per cent, on Viets' cattle.

While Viets was at Winnipeg the half-breeds and hunters arrived from the west with over a thousand Red River carts, loaded with furs and hides. McTavish explained to him how the Hudson Bay Company handled the Indian trade.⁹ Viets returned on the Blakely and Carpenter stage line from Winnipeg to Grand Forks. Later Viets and Dow made a second trip with about three hundred cattle to Fort Garry. The prices ranged about the same as on the first trip. After this the Germans in Sauk Valley combined and drove herds of cattle to Canada for themselves for many years.

⁸Viets recalls that Winnipeg was celebrating the day; there was a great deal of music and display of yellow sashes and plumes.

⁹Viets also learned how the half-breeds broke the steers to the cart. Their method was very simple as the steers were rather tame. The half-breeds tied them while the harness was adjusted, then the steer was hitched to the cart with a broken steer ahead. After driving about a little the half-breed would drive off with the newly broken animal alone.

In 1871 when Viets passed the site of what is now Grand Forks, there were no buildings there at all. They drove a Hudson Bay team that year to meet Governor Donald B. Smith, who was going by relays to the railroad at Morris, Minnesota. Two years later when Viets and Dow camped with their cattle on the site of the present Memorial Park Cemetery on the bank of the English Coulee, Grand Forks was a real frontier post. The Hudson Bay Company had a store, then in charge of Walter J. S. Traill, on what is now the corner of Third and Kittson avenue or where the Farmers and Citizens Bank now stands. This store was a two-story building with the office in a small building adjoining it. D. M. Holmes was the telegraph operator in the office that year. The Northwest Hotel was being built on the corner of DeMers and Third, the frame work was completed by July 1, 1873. Stewart's stage station was the stopping place for the Blakely and Carpenter stage coach. John Fadden was running a boarding house and later bought the Hudson Bay Company's mill, which stood back of the present Herald office on the bank of the Red river. Avery had been for many years the sawyer for the Hudson Bay Company.

In September, 1873, Viets agreed with Traill to come back to Grand Forks and finish up the Northwest hotel and work for the Hudson Bay Company. He returned to Ohio to bring his family to their new home. They came to Moorhead on the train, and made the rest of the trip by stage. The Northwest hotel when completed was the best in North Dakota at that time.¹⁰ He shipped his fur-

¹⁰ The Hudson Bay Company's employees slept on the third floor of the hotel and they named this floor the "ram pasture."

As assistant in the Hudson Bay Company store Viets made a reputation for himself which saved him much trouble later. The store had sometimes a rough gang of customers, among these the "man eating Dutchman" from the Elk River. On an occasion when he was making trouble Viets knocked the Dutchman flat by an unexpected blow as he turned his head to look at another clerk. The Dutchman explained later to his friends that a mule had kicked him.

niture from the New England Furniture Company at Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Hudson Bay Company had a large herd of cattle, so he was able to get his supply of meat from them.

In 1872 Viets began the store business for himself; the Hudson Bay Company was withdrawing from the United States and he rented their building and bought some of their goods. The remainder of the goods was packed and shipped to Fort Garry. After 1875 he ran general stores in different localities, in one of these, on what is now the corner of Third and Gertrude avenue, he did a heavy business, especially in farm machinery, as he had no competition.

In 1876 Viets built the first grist mill in North Dakota. It had three run of stone, two for flour and one for feed. He hired Charlton as millwright. Being the only mill in the state, the wheat was hauled to it from very long distances, such as Pembina, the Goose river, and Fort Totten. There was so much grain to be ground that the mill ran both day and night and became one of the principal industries of Grand Forks. In 1877 Viets signed a contract with the Federal government to supply Fort Totten with oats and flour for the Indian rations for one year. Major James McLaughlin was the agent at the reservation that year. Viets built a sawmill in the same year, hiring Avery as sawyer. This mill was run by an engine, burning the sawmill waste. Minnesota Point furnished the best white oak timbers. The logs were cut and floated down the river to the mill site and hauled up the log slide, costing Viets nothing but the labor. The logs were then cut into ship timber two and one-half inches thick and about forty feet in length. This timber was used mostly in the construction of flat boats and steam boats. Cottonwood was also sawed for lumber and was used for houses and shacks.

Most of the cottonwood logs were floated down the Red Lake river. Viets invested about ten thousand dollars in the two mills, outside of the value of the timber and store supplies. D. P. Reeves, an employee of the Red River Transportation Company, was sent to Grand Forks to build boats. The boatyard was built back of the residences of C. P. Trepanier and S. S. Titus. Viets' sawmill supplied the lumber for these boats, while all the machinery used was brought down on a flat boat on the Red Lake river from Fisher's landing, the nearest railway station. This Company employed a large force of men, who worked under the direction of Norman W. Kittson. The workmen were fed at the shack of the ship carpenter and designer. The steamers, *Alpha and Cheyenne*, and many barges for freight were built at Reeve's boatyard.

Alexander Griggs and Viets agreed to build a second grist mill in 1875, back of the Gotzian block and Viets had the timber hauled there during the winter. He then went to Minneapolis to arrange for a millwright, but upon his return in April he found that Griggs was absent on the *Selkirk* and the timber had been hauled to a site on the north side of what is now the DeMers Avenue bridge, where the Robertson Lumber Company is located. Viets would not agree to the new site and built the mill on Division street. Viets contracted with two French brothers on the Red river for the hewn white oak timbers and obtained his mill plans from parties in Minneapolis. He also obtained credit for five thousand dollars from Upham of the First National Bank. Viets completed his mill in time to grind the crop of 1876 while Griggs completed his mill four years later.

In 1876 Viets built the first part of the present Hotel Hall on Third street as a residence, but in 1877 he added the remainder of the present building and opened it as the

Viets House. He did this in order to establish a comfortable stopping place in that part of town. He wished to see the south side of the city developed, so he laid out the Viets addition, Fourth avenue marking the south line. He deeded the triangular piece of land between Fifth street, Gertrude avenue, and Belmont avenue to the Presbyterian church for purely church purposes and built several buildings. One of these buildings, Mentone Hall, was bought by the elder John Fadden; another on Third street across from the filter was bought by a German tailor; and Major Hamilton lived in the building on south Fourth street.

About this time the lodge of the Knights of Pythias was organized and it desired to organize a band. Alex Oldham, a former band master, had recently come to Grand Forks and was chosen band master for the city band. Viets ordered and paid three hundred and fifty dollars for the first set of band instruments. Viets next undertook the building of a brick yard. He brought John Bartholomew from Geneva, Ohio, to carry out this plan.¹¹ John McKelvey and Viets built the first Presbyterian church and the old brick high school building during the same year, 1879.

Viets was a member and chairman of the city commission for many years. While he held this office there was a dispute among the citizens of Grand Forks upon the site for the courthouse. Griggs, McCormack, Budge, and Eshelman together owned a section of land on the north side

¹¹Viets gave him land for a brick yard in the neighborhood of Judge Carother's house, between Fourth and Fifth street to Minnesota avenue, southeast of Dr. H. M. Wheeler's house. The first season was disastrous as the heavy rains spoiled a large part of the bricks made. After 1877, however, Bartholomew made money and was able to build the Bartholomew Block. A little later, 1881, he operated a brick yard beyond the Lutheran College, on the west side of Belmont avenue, on land bought from Viets.

and they wanted the court house built near the site of the first Great Northern coal shute. Viets succeeded in having the first court house built where the present one now stands.

Viets' last business venture was the building of the first Dacotah hotel; the construction was undertaken by a corporation of which he was a stockholder. The hotel was destroyed by fire in December, 1897.

Viets next spent a year in the Kootenay country, Canada, where he bought and sold mining properties, 1898-99. He then moved to Galesburg, Illinois, and leased the Union hotel there for three years. In 1903 he leased and ran a hotel in Flint, Michigan. He next moved to Marion, Ohio, leasing the Marion hotel, 1904-05. After leasing the Hotel English in Indianapolis, Indiana, he sold his lease to his associate, Wilbraham, and retired from business in 1905. He moved to Ashtabula, Ohio, where he lived until his wife's death in 1910. Since that date he has lived at the home of his daughter, Mrs. M. S. Titus, Minot, North Dakota.

AUGUSTUS BARLOW

Augustus Barlow was born at Becancour, east of Three Rivers, Canada, on January 2, 1827.²³ His father, John Barlow, was born in Manchester, England, and came to America in 1812. He was a sergeant in the British army,

²³ The Parish register reads as follows: "On the second of January, 1827, we the undersigned certify as curate of the parish of Becancour that we have baptized Frederick August, son of John Barlow, shoemaker, and of Jane Campbell, his wife, born this morning in the said parish, at the home of his father and mother. There were present the godfather and godmother as witnesses, Jean Baptiste Houle, blacksmith, and Joseph Landry, wife of Louis Desilets, who have declared they were not able to sign this certificate. Father Lejamtel, Parish Priest." Secured through the courtesy of Rev. J. A. Monseau, curate at Becancour, province of Quebec. (Ed.)

and married Jennie Campbell at Quebec. Her father, who had been a soldier, died at Three Rivers. Both the father and mother of Augustus died at Somerset on the Grand Trunk railroad.

At about the age of 19, Augustus Barlow took a steam boat to Montreal. From there he went by train to La Prairie on Lake Champlain, thence by steamboat to Whitehall, New York, by canal boat to the Hudson River, and by steam boat to New York City. During a stay of two days in the city he saw a vessel advertised to go to New Orleans, so he bought a ticket and set out on an eighteen day voyage for that city. He arrived in New Orleans in December, 1846. Here he stayed all winter working as a steersman on a canal boat running between New Orleans and Lake Ponchartrain. He made two dollars a day steering barges of cotton and produce.

While he was here he stayed at a hotel near the canal depot. The cypress swamps were close by. The weather was very warm and disagreeable odors arose on the hot winds. Yellow fever broke out in the city, and Barlow counted as many as fourteen funerals pass in one day on the shell road that paralleled the canal.

Deciding that he did not care to stay here longer, he took the steamboat *United States* up to Cincinnati in March, 1847. From there he went to St. Louis on the side wheel steamer, *Tempest*.

In St. Louis he boarded with an old Frenchman known as Transmontagne, who lived on the levee. The dining room was twenty feet square and was furnished with stools and a table. Liquor was served on the table in a black bottle and the meals cost fifty cents.

At St. Louis he hired as a deck hand for a return trip to Peoria, Illinois. He next took passage on the *Ellen May No. 2* for St. Paul. The boat towed a barge of cattle

for the soldiers at Fort Snelling and was commanded by Captain Hutchinson, and Charley White was the pilot.²⁴

Barlow stayed on the boat until they discharged the cattle at Fort Snelling. The cattle gave some trouble, not being willing to go down the gang plank. Barlow suggested to the captain that they be pushed off the barge into the water and be made to swim to shore with a rope tied around their horns. This was tried successfully and the cattle were all unloaded safely. The empty barge was towed down to the mouth of Lake St. Croix and then up to Stillwater, a small town not far distant.

On his return to St. Louis, Barlow hired out to the opposition to the American Fur Co. to go up the Missouri river to the Yellowstone river. He and a man named Joseph Bibaux agreed to make the trip at \$28 a month. The firm name was Harvey, Picotte, Primeau and Bouise.²⁵ They made the trip up the Missouri on the stern wheeler *Bertrand* in March, 1848, to where Fort Buford was built later; here was an adobe post in command of Primeau.

Barlow and a man from France named Moreau cut down cottonwood trees and whipsawed them into planks for a barge to go up the Yellowstone.

After the barge was built about twenty men were hired to cordel it up the Yellowstone to O'Fallon's Creek. A half-breed, Cardinal, was at the head of the expedition and he had with him his Assiniboine wife.

Barlow's job was to hold the rope out of the water so the men could pull straight. On the way up the men got out of meat and sent Barlow to Cardinal to complain. Cardinal had agreed with Primeau to kill buffalo to sup-

²⁴ White was later captain on the *Red Wing*, a Mississippi river steamboat.

²⁵ For an account of the organization of this firm see Coues, *Larpeur's Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, N. Y., 1898, I., 227.

ply them with fresh meat after the boat left the mouth of the Yellowstone. Cardinal became angry and told Barlow they might dig turnips. He gave them pork out of a barrel which Barlow cut open with an axe. A few days later Barlow shot a white tailed deer near the barge and the men had fresh meat for a time.

About 3 o'clock every afternoon Cardinal always gave the men a rest to smoke. One afternoon, when they were 15 days out, he did not have them stop, and they grumbled, so Barlow gave the rope a big jerk back and wound it around a tree. He said to them, "Sit down and smoke and stop complaining." Cardinal came out on the barge and began to swear at the men but they paid no attention to him. After a time Barlow called and said they were ready to go on. Cardinal was still angry and abused Barlow and the men. So they continued resting until he ordered them to go on.

One day they saw a band of Dakota Indians on a bluff and Cardinal ordered the barge grounded on a sand bar in the middle of the river for safety. He also barricaded it, and got all the guns ready. The Indians flashed looking glasses in their eyes, blinding them. Cardinal's wife talked their language and she called to them to send one man down. A Dakota warrior then started to wade into the water toward them but was ordered to stop because they were afraid something might happen. Then, because the others were afraid, Barlow went out in a boat and took the Indian a bottle of syrup and some crackers. The Indian talked to Barlow in the language of the Dakotas and indicated by signs that he wanted to come to the boat, but Barlow pulled his revolver and ordered him back. Then the Indians crossed the Yellowstone and the company on the barge later found their camp and crossing place. This was about 100 miles above the mouth of the river.

They camped on the west side of the river, and that night Barlow took his mattress out in the timber, and here he was bitten by a scorpion. The next morning he went down to the shore to his work but the pain from the bite began to spread over his body. In a short time he became delirious, and began to dance about and scream. They put him aboard the barge and here he lay sick for two weeks. Some Crow Indians, who came aboard to trade, were able to cure Barlow's wound by chewing roots and making a poultice to put on the wound. This treatment cured him in a short time.

They reached O'Fallon's Creek four weeks after they left the mouth of the Yellowstone. Here they built a stockade of cottonwood logs, 200 feet square and 12 feet high. For their houses they cut cottonwood logs, rafted them down the river, and dragged the logs up by hand. The post consisted of a storehouse, trader's house, two houses for the men, one for the French, German, and Swiss, and one for the Americans and English. The houses were made with dirt roofs and each one had a fireplace of mud and bunks around the sides.

They roasted their meat by hanging it from a chain fastened to an old rifle barrel in the adobe chimney. The men had meat but no coffee or crackers. Only the traders had these luxuries. The meat house was kept locked. Barlow bought some flour, coffee, and sugar from the store and hid it. When provisions ran low, Barlow brought out his supply and treated the men frequently to coffee and crackers, which made him popular. On one occasion Cardinal came in and said, "You fellows got coffee, I have none." Barlow asked him to sit down and have some coffee but he was surly and refused and, grappling with Barlow, tried to throw him down. Barlow caught himself on the center post of the house and tripped Cardinal so

that he fell flat in a cloud of dust. The men laughed heartily and Cardinal did not wait for another invitation but sprang up and dashed out of the house.

They bought ten horses for buffalo hunting from the Crow Indians who traded them for robes. About two or three hundred yards above their post was another owned by Choteau & Co., and Maldrum was head man. During the winter Barlow, the hunter, Joseph Le Moine, and the rest went on the ice over to an island in the Yellowstone where the horses were kept. The horses fed on dried grass, and cottonwood bark which the men peeled off and drew out of the woods for them.

This day the horses had strayed over to the east bank and it took some time to get them. Meanwhile a party from the other post had gone north ahead of them so they went east. Barlow noticed the buffalo running out of the hills and he and Le Moine decided that there must be Indians there. Higgins, a St. Louis man, who was a hunter for the other post, had an Indian wife and her mother keeping house for him. He told Barlow that he had worked six or seven years and this was his last winter.

As Barlow's party came back from hunting, two men from the other party, Louis Beaupoire and Wm. Smith of St. Louis, came riding up and said that Higgins was shot. They went out after him and found him, shot through the chest three times, lying in the snow. He was light haired and a hand breath of scalp had been taken from his head. They tied the body to a horse and brought it in. His wife met them and when she saw her husband was dead she began wailing and shrieking and thrust a knife into her head, so that blood spurted out over her face. They next day they buried him behind the post in a company blanket and his wife and her mother, both Crow Indians, went out and wailed over the grave for many days.

The morning of Christmas the men loaded their guns to fire a salute to the head man. They all fired into a barrel, holding their guns close inside, and it made a noise like a cannon. The dirt fell from the roof inside and Cardinal came out to inquire what it all meant. They told him it was Christmas and they wanted a feast.

They built a second barge during the winter. Barlow, and a Frenchman named Michelle, sawed logs as before.²⁶ Barlow complained of lack of food and Cardinal ordered the two of them to eat in his own kitchen and they had plenty as long as they were sawing. After they had finished this supply of food stopped.

The day before they left, a band of Blackfoot Indians swooped down and carried off all of the horses from both posts. One of the guards of the herd, a German, came near being speared by a horseman who stampeded the herd he was guarding, but Barlow fired at his assailant and drove the Indian off. Barlow gave the alarm and the men on the barges ran up to the fort for their guns.

James Hartshorn, a clerk, wanted to go for the horses and Barlow and three others volunteered to go for them to the Blackfoot camp. There they saw an Indian riding back and forth in front of the camp, waving an American flag to show it was safe for them to come on. As they came closer to the camp this Indian suddenly darted aside so that the Blackfeet ambushed in camp could fire on Barlow's party. Barlow saw the smoke in time and they all dropped in the sage brush, while the bullets sang and whined overhead, mowing down the sage brush all about them. Barlow said to the clerk, "You can go for the horses but I am going back. The company hired me but

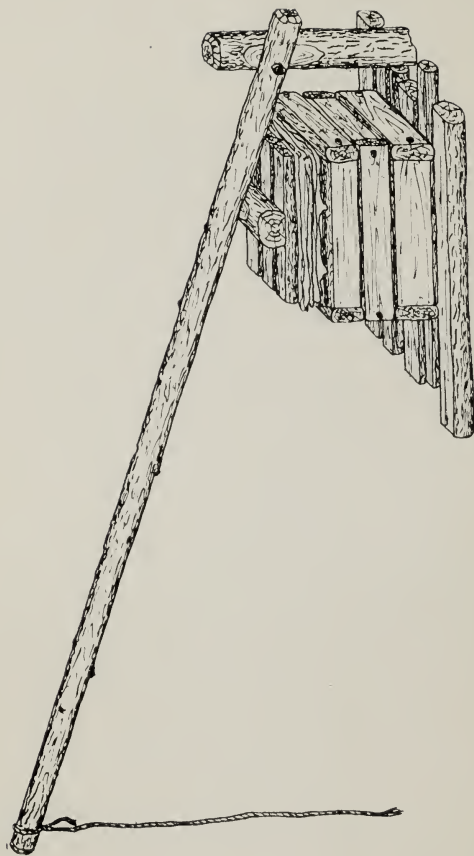
²⁶Michelle later died of cholera and was buried at Hop Hollow, near Alton, Illinois.

it cannot bring me back to life." After a time the Indians gave up and rode away.

They had two barge loads of robes when they returned to the main post. They went down the Yellowstone on the June rise; the trip took three or four days. One of the firm, Harvey, had been in the Blackfoot country during the past winter and Joseph Picotte had been at a post on the Little Missouri.²⁷ Primeaux was anxious to keep Barlow another year but he would not stay. Cardinal had complained to Primeaux of Barlow's behavior on the Yellowstone but Primeaux paid no attention to him.

All the winter that Barlow had been on the Yellowstone, Primeaux had traded with the Assiniboines. He had sent an American out on the prairie to a post on the Muddy River to trade, and the American had frozen his feet. A mulatto was sent in his place. He noticed that the white man did not have to work on account of having frozen his feet. So in order to secure the same opportunity for idleness, he allowed his feet to freeze, but not knowing how to care for them he developed blood poisoning. There was in camp a soldier whom the men called "Captain." In fighting with other members of the crew, he defended himself with a stick so skillfully that no one could touch him with either clubs or fists. It was decided to send the Captain down the river with the mulatto in a dugout. The two men occupied opposite ends of the dugout, and when the Captain stopped at a sand bar for breakfast he found that the mulatto was dead. He buried him in the sand bar with his paddle and went on. At the mouth of the

²⁷Primeaux told Barlow after his return that Harvey had once fired a cannon loaded with pieces of log chain at some Blackfoot Indians who came to trade at the post where he was stationed. Many of the Indians were killed and he got all their robes. See Coues, *Larpenteur's Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, I., 219.



BUFFALO ROBE PRESS

Little Missouri he overtook the barges going down and made the rest of the journey on the steamboat. Barlow saw him later in St. Louis.

The robes were packed ten at a time in a press two and one-half feet by four feet and tied with a rawhide, twice one way and once the other. Two men were needed to handle each bale. In June of 1849 Barlow made his return to St. Louis on a barge with the robes. There were three barges in charge of Jos. Picotte. Michelle was one of the men on a barge. One of the steersmen was Suprenault and Picotte was one of the others.

These barges were propelled by oars and had a steering oar at the end. There were 20 men on each barge and each barge was steered independent of the others. Barlow was head man on his barge, and he stood at the bow to jump out and make the barge fast when they landed.

The cook was a Spaniard and he had to go ashore and boil meat for each meal. Once he forgot the kettle and made the men row back for it, which was hard work against the stream. Barlow scolded the Spaniard and he drew his knife to stab him. Barlow choked him down at the bottom of the barge, and the men had to pull him off to save the Spaniard's life. A year later Barlow saw the Spaniard again, and he looked as angry as the day on which he had the fight. For every meal they went ashore and also at night. One night the mosquitoes were so bad no one could sleep. Barlow slept that night under a canvass stretched over the buffalo hides and he was dripping wet in the morning.

On the way down they stopped at a Hidatsa village on the left bank of the river. Here they found 25 or 30 acres of earth lodges and a very large burying ground. Jeff. Smith had a trading post in a log house here. The chief of the village had met Barlow at O'Fallon's Creek,

and had taken a fancy to him. He had asked Cardinal for him. Barlow promised to join him on the way down, and he found the chief ready for him when they landed at this place with their barges. Picotte stopped to see Jeff. Smith who was a trader in the same company.

Barlow got Smith to tell the chief that he must go down to St. Louis for his pay but that he was coming back with horses, guns, and traps. He gave the chief his little trunk bound with calf skin and studded with brass nails. The chief's leggings and shirt were trimmed with the hair of slain enemies.

The Mandans were at a place down the river a mile or two. Their trading place was Fort Mandan and the boat had stopped there on the way up, and also at a small post among the Arikara. The country at this time was very dry. They were now two or three days down from Ft. Buford.

They overtook the steamer, *Saluda*, and loaded the freight on her. Then they turned the barges adrift. This was at Iowa Point above St. Joseph. At St. Joseph Barlow traded a buffalo robe for a pair of trousers and a shirt. They reached St. Louis in July and were paid off. An epidemic of cholera was raging in the city at the time. Barlow was taken with the disease but recovered in four or five days. He recalls that a doctor gave him a drink with powders which cured him very speedily. As men at the hotel where Barlow was staying were dying day by day, Barlow remained only two weeks in St. Louis.

He took passage on the steamboat the *Ellen May No. 2*, bound for St. Paul. An old Frenchman got on the boat to escape the cholera. He had with him his family, horse, and buggy, and got off at Galena, Illinois. Two members of the barge crew that came down the Missouri with Barlow were on the boat, and they were both ill with the

cholera. One of them died and one was so near death that a coffin was made for him. The old Frenchman, however, who was still on the boat, asked Barlow to go down into the hold with him to dose the dying man. They went down, gave the sick man the medicine, and he recovered. This man's name was John Sanderson and he was always known afterward as Cholera John.

Barlow reached Fort Snelling at St. Paul in 1849 and went on to Stillwater. At Stillwater he hired out to Joseph Perro for a dollar a day, rafting logs down the Mississippi river, and he had to pay his way back. Perro was a tall man, six feet four inches in height and large in proportion. He was a pilot on the *Ellen May No. 2* with Barlow when he came to St. Paul, and they had become acquainted in that way.

The rafts carried from twenty-five to thirty men each, and held on an average of 500,000 feet of lumber, selling for \$2.50 to \$3 a thousand. There were twelve oars at each end of the barge, with a man to each oar, and extra men at the corner oars. When the barge was to swing the pilot gave directions by calling: "Left behind, right in front" or "Right behind, left in front," and the men stood on a plank and pushed at the oars in order to change the direction of the raft. Lengthwise across the middle of the raft ran a plank used by the pilot. In the middle of the raft was a cook shed sixteen feet square with a table in front where all the men ate. There was also an ice house, with pork and supplies stored in it. The men slept in a shed at one end of the raft, the pilot slept at the other end, and the cook slept in the cook house.

They tied up every night with a 1200 feet cable. Two men went ashore in a skiff and tied to a tree, and the rope, a two inch cable, was gradually drawn taut. Water was thrown on the rope as it was tightened to keep it from

bursting into a blaze on account of the friction. Smoke often arose from it higher than their heads. The cable was slackened and tightened by running it about a log.

The oars were sixteen inches wide made of plank at the blade end, and the handles were of tamarack poles seven inches in diameter, morticed on with pins. The whole was carefully balanced over a head block or transverse log at each side of the raft. The oar lock or pin had much play in the funnel-shaped opening that held it in place so as to allow raising and lowering of the oar. The thole pins were of ironwood two inches thick. The preparing of the raft took three or four days, working the crew full time. The supervision of the work was the pilot's job. The trips of 100 miles generally took three weeks. Barlow had made one run in twelve days by running day and night. His first trip was late in the fall and the water was low. He went back to St. Paul on the *Franklin No. 2*.

Some time before Christmas he hired out to a man who lived on the Wisconsin side of Lake St. Croix. Barlow walked down to the lake and was taken across in a boat. The next day he started with James Perrington in a sled to a logging camp in the timber. They camped at Dry Dam and it was very cold. The next day Barlow got wet to his waist crossing a stream. He tried to slide over on the ice but fell through in the middle. The man drove on and he had to run to overtake him. Barlow hired out as a sawyer at the shore of Lake St. Croix. There were two men at this job and he worked two weeks at this, and then his back gave out. He tried chopping for a few days, but did not feel well, so he decided to quit. He rode back with the supply team to Stillwater and received clothes on his pay slip, but no money. A man named Bruce kept the store.

He stayed the rest of the winter at the Stillwater House

kept by Buford and Fisher. A Rev. Brown came to this hotel to board, Barlow remembers he was very tall. Rev. Brown had a habit of pacing the hall and saying his sermon out loud until the boarders objected and stopped him.

Joseph Perro and Sandy McPhail went into partnership running log rafts and Barlow hired out to them as a pilot on one of their rafts. He received \$1,800 to \$2,000 for a season beginning about May 1 and ending at cold weather. The usual run was four or five trips and occasionally a raft of lumber was run down the river. The firm built the oars and the cook sheds for the rafts, and supplied all food and return fare. Barlow stayed at the hotel all winter and hired out the second year at higher wages for doing the same work.

The second year he worked for Perro and McPhail also. He once took down a very large raft of big logs, which no one else would take. At the same time Perro had a raft and two other pilots had one each. No one had wanted to take the larger raft so it was left to Barlow. McPhail took a raft of lumber. Barlow lost the skiff while stopping at a bank where the trees had fallen in and one of the trees scraped against the raft, and carried off the skiff. McPhail had landed at this place already but Barlow would not stay for fear of accidents. He ran down to an island and had the men build a fire to dry themselves for it had been raining all night.

Near Muscatine, Iowa, McPhail sold the raft but Barlow got past the saw mill before he received orders to stop. He bargained for the sale of his raft at two other mills. The raft ran past the first of these but put up at the second, where it was sold. Then Barlow went back on a steamboat to look up the rafts of the other two pilots. The first one, in charge of Charley Mosher, a Frenchman, he found above Dubuque. Barlow recognized the Nor-

wegians who had been hired at Ridge Landing. He took charge and soon got the raft off the sand bar on which it was stranded, by taking it apart and putting it together again. This was on the 4th of July and they then ran night and day until they put in at Montrose, Iowa, above the rapids. The men had claimed to be anxious to get to St. Louis but they also wanted to rest here. Barlow had to stop at this point so that he might run the rapids by day.

Sixty miles above St. Louis at Cap O'Gray, on the right bank opposite a bluff, he found the second raft, which was in charge of Joseph Gardepie, a half-breed. This raft was also on a sand bar. The crew had built a platform on the bank at the edge of the woods and the pilot fiddled and the other men danced. Barlow swore and threatened them and finally scared them into working. They took most of the raft apart, rolled the logs into the river, and re-fastened them. On the morning after they were done a boat came up the river with McPhail. Barlow took this raft down and McPhail took the other raft to St. Louis.

After this Barlow ran rafts on his own account for about ten years. He ran two log rafts for James McComb from Stillwater to St. Louis. Joseph Anderson, a logger, was also one of his employers. He averaged \$2,000 to \$3,000 a season clear profit. He kept his money at a bank owned by Shafer.

A few years after he began to run rafts he was married to Elizabeth Chardon. Her father had married a second time and she had come from Kaskaskia, Illinois, to make her home in Stillwater.²⁹ Here were born nine of the children and one was born at Barlow's Grove, after the family had moved to that place in 1876. After his mar-

²⁹Mrs. Barlow died at Barlow's grove in 1907.

riage he bought a farm, and built two houses in Stillwater. He worked for himself until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Barlow remembers voting for Lincoln that fall, and all of his men voted for him too. In the fall of 1860 he went to Canada and as his family objected to his returning to the United States on account of the Civil War, he remained there. When he left Stillwater he sold his farm for \$2,300 to a German Catholic named Paully. He took his wife and children with him. They took a boat from Stillwater to La Crosse and went from there by rail to Chicago and Montreal. He found on arriving at Becancour that his parents had moved to Stanfold on the Grand Trunk Railroad. At Stanfold Barlow bought a farm of 200 acres for \$2600 and sold it, when he left, for \$2400.

Barlow returned to Stillwater in May, 1865, just as the war was closing and one month after the assassination of Lincoln. He had sold his first home to Jack Short for \$800, so he bought another house and began rafting again. He worked for W. G. Clark of St. Louis, who hired him at \$2500 to run logs from Stillwater. He worked for Clark six or seven years. Soon after his return he bought a farm and moved to it, occupying his winters in looking after his stock.

While he was absent down the river his wife managed the farm. He usually came back from these trips by way of Prescott, Wisconsin. He became well acquainted with Charley Barron, the steamboat agent on the Mississippi.

Barlow ran a raft for Stanford of St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, and sold it to Patterson at St. Louis. Patterson was dishonest and still owes Barlow \$200. He gave him \$1000 to pay the men but Barlow pocketed it and told the men not to let anything off the raft until they were paid, and they held up the sale until they received their wages.

Barlow secured Patterson's note for most of the balance he owed him and received his money in the spring.

In 1872 Barlow took a team up to Stillwater thinking the river might freeze up before they got up with the boat. When he arrived in Chicago it was just after the great fire and he saw elevators full of grain still burning. At his hotel there were numbers of destitute people that slept on the floor. He saw whole families, that had been burned out, walking about the streets. The father and mother usually carried all their possessions in a handkerchief while the children straggled after them, with no place to go for either food or lodging.

He left Stillwater in 1876. A neighbor, Joseph Dockward, knew of Dakota as an engineer on Red River steamboats in 1875, and praised the country. The following winter in February, Dockward, his son, and Barlow drove to Moorhead in a sled, and crossing the river there went on to Grand Forks. Their only stopping places were stage stations. At Elm river was a station kept by Johnson, and at Eight Mile Point there was one kept by "Old Alex."

At Grand Forks Maloney kept an eating house, McCormack and Griggs had a store, and the Post Office stood directly behind the Hudson Bay Company store.

Barlow located at what is now Barlow's Grove, paying \$800 for his outfit and eighty acres. He returned by stage to Fargo and by train to Stillwater. Here he sold out and came back with his family to Fargo, and from there they went to Grand Forks on the steamboat, *Dakota*, commanded by Captain Sheets.

In Grand Forks they stopped at the Northwest hotel. Here he bought supplies, principally meat and flour, and moved out to his place. The mosquitoes were very bad at his farm for many years.

Barlow remembers taking the first boat load of lumber

to the tent town of Brandon, Manitoba. McCarty of Winnipeg had built the new boat, *North-West*, and had gotten as far up as the rapids but did not dare to go farther. Barlow was returning on the other boat of McCarty's, the *Marquette*, with lumber also. They had begun to unload the *North-West* when Barlow told them he could take her over. They changed crews, captains and pilots and Barlow took the *North-West* over the rapids. Then he went back to Grand Forks to look after his crop.

He took his first boat, the *Cheyenne*, out in 1876. Connelly was engineer, John Griggs captain, and another pilot was Joseph Amiotte. Barlow remembered that "Flatboat McLean" took his last trip in the summer of 1876. Edward Holcombe was superintendent of the Red River line of boats and the pilots were Charles DeMers, Captain McCormack, Wm Griggs, James Leathertail, and Julius Dugoll (a Frenchman). The *Selkirk* was Barlow's second boat and carried iron for the Canadian Pacific Railroad from Fisher's Landing to Winnipeg.

This year, 1876, was the first year the Canadian government arranged to have the Mennonites come down the Red river for Canada, taking a boat from Fisher's Landing to Winnipeg.

On the Red river at this time were the following: Captain Thimens commanding the *Minnesota*, a passenger packet; Captain Alex Griggs commanding the *Manitoba*, a passenger and freight steamboat, and John Griggs commanding the *Alpha*, his last boat. Captain McCormack was bar keeper on the *Nellie Kent*, plying between Prescott and St. Paul.

The *Selkirk* was the last boat Barlow piloted. This year he was frozen up at Pembina and took the stage to his farm, getting off on the north side of Grand Forks.

This was the year the Great Northern Railroad reached East Grand Forks.

Augustus Barlow died the 15th of April, 1918, in his home at Barlow's Grove, aged ninety-one years.

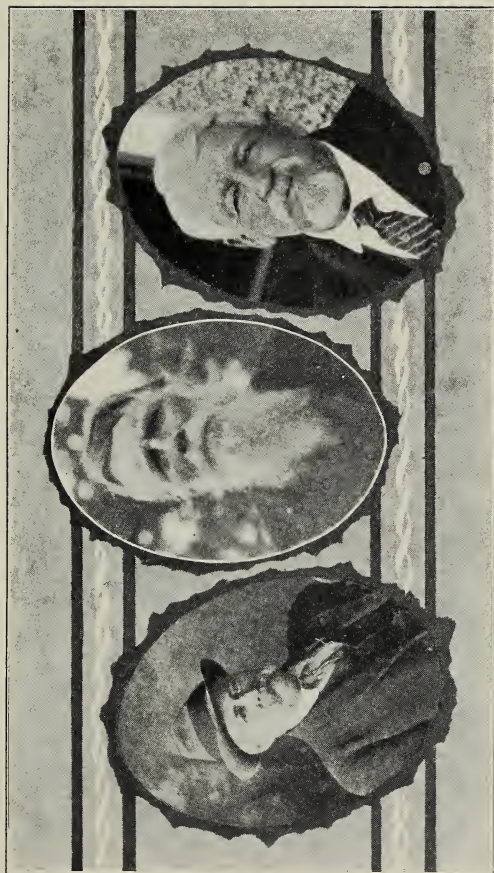
ROBERT C. MATHEWS

Robert C. Mathews was born in Plainville, Ohio, February 6, 1848. His father, Robert C. Mathews, was born in Ireland and was married there to Eliza Cobb. She was born in Ireland, near Dublin at Word-of-Oak. Her father was John Cobb, a grist miller in Ireland.

Robert's father died before the boy was old enough to remember him. His mother then took him to an uncle named Wilkes, a pig iron smelter at Mayville, Dodge county, Wisconsin, thirty miles north of Milwaukee on the Rock River. She kept house for Wilkes until she died. In 1856, just before her death, she bound Robert out to a farmer named John Sippey, a relative of hers.

In 1863 Robert ran away and enlisted that spring in Company F of the Thirty-eight Wisconsin Volunteers, at Fond du Lac. He was only fifteen, but enlisted as eighteen, volunteering as a drummer. However, he never served as a drummer but carried a musket instead. His unit was hurried to the front and he served in the trenches before Petersburg. His company helped to drive Lee from Petersburg to Appomatox, and on the occasion of Lee's surrender there, Mathews' regiment was on the south side of the hollow square formed by the Union troops. His company had suffered severely during the war, there being only thirty-seven men left at the time of their discharge. He was a member of the G. K. Warren post, No. 17, of the G. A. R. The post was organized in 1871 and disbanded when Fort Buford was abandoned.

In 1870 Mathews set out for Dakota as a herder and



ROBERT C. MATHEWS

AUGUSTUS BARLOW

A. H. DeLONG

knowing that they always put out their fires before they left because of the danger of starting a prairie fire, he dismounted and went down to examine the situation. He could see nothing, and after waiting for awhile to see if there was any movement about the place, he went up to the fire. There was plain evidence that the steer had been butchered and the meat carried off. The four hoofs, the horns, and part of the head had been left. He started back to his party with the news, but remembered that he needed evidence, so he returned and tied one of the hoofs and a horn to his saddle and rode back to join the party. The herd had gone only six or seven miles and he caught up to them quickly. He showed the hoof and horn to Captain Anderson. The latter told the clerk to pay Mathews ten dollars for his services and stated that he could get back the hundred dollars for the steer from the government, because it had been killed by Indians.

When the party arrived at Fort Stevenson they delivered the beef allotted to this place and left several men to cut hay on the government contract. The soldiers at Fort Stevenson were living in barracks at this time. At Fort Berthold they weighed and delivered 1300 head of beef for the three tribes of Indians there. The officers at this post were: Tappan, agent; Courtney, his clerk; F.F. Gerard, interpreter; and John Nagel (Man With-Crooked-Mouth), boss farmer. Among the others who were there were Charles Patineau, Peter Beauchamp, and Charles Malnouri. Mathews saw the scaffolds and burying grounds of the Indians at this place. Fort Totten scouts returned and the following Indians were taken as scouts to Fort Buford: White Face, Bloody Knife, Soldier, Hard Horn, and Long Bear.³¹

³¹ For a sketch of Soldier see *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, VI., 179.

When they arrived at Fort Buford they found Crow-Fly-High and his Indians living there. These Indians had previously lived at Fort Union where the Durfee and Peck trading post was located. Here the Indians had lived in round huts about the height of a man at the center. The huts were made from willows placed in circles from nine to twelve feet in diameter; the willows were bent over and fastened at the top. A hole was left at the top for smoke to escape. The willows were interwoven or crossed with smaller willows and then the framework plastered with mud, inside and out, the Indians using their hands for trowels. Fort Buford was adobe when the party arrived in 1870, but frame structures were later put up in 1872.

Three quarters of a mile from Fort Buford is McKenzie Butte where Lieutenant McKenzie was killed in the spring of 1870. He was ambushed by the Indians who had just killed an Indian scout at the same place. There were six companies of infantry and three of cavalry stationed at the fort. In 1870 Alexander McAskill located across the Missouri river, opposite Saco, Montana.

The remainder of the herd, four or five hundred head, was left here, and a number of men stayed to complete the coal, wood and hay contracts.³²

After their eighteen months contract was up, most of the men returned to Minnesota. About sixty of them left together, among whom were Pelkie, Gerro, Martin, the wagon master, and W. Hart. They were paid off when they reached St. Paul. Among those who chose to remain at the fort were Robert Mathews, C. D. Gibbs and Alexander McAskill, a typical Scotchman, now living at

³²The coal they supplied was lignite dug near the fort. The wood they cut on the south side of the river. It was cottonwood and they received \$8.00 per cord for it. They hauled the wood with teams, each team hauling four one-cord loads per day.

Oswego, Montana. In October, Captain Anderson set out for the states. Before leaving he paid off Mathews and gave him a little more than his wages because Anderson did not have to pay his return passage. An escort of soldiers accompanied Anderson to Fort Stevenson and another escort went with him to Fort Totten and then on to Fort Abercrombie.

Mathews had at first decided to return with the rest, but when he was going out to the corral to get his horse, Jordan and Leighton called him back. They asked him to stay and clerk in their store, which he agreed to do for \$100 per month and board. Joseph Leighton was book-keeper for the firm. Mathews worked for Jordan and Leighton four years, 1872-76, living with them during that time.

In 1872, when the railroad came to Bismarck, he drove Leighton and Jordan down to take the train to the East. He had a good rig for the trip and two guards, one riding in front and one in the rear. The first night they slept at the Slides, for there was no Shell Creek village there then. The second night they stayed at the Fort Berthold agency. The third night they slept out of doors at Joseph Taylor's place. The next day they drove into Bismarck, then a wild, wide open town, where men were shot every night. He stayed at the Merchant's Hotel, kept by L. M. Griffin, and at the hotel bar he saw Dennis Hanafin.

In 1876, John Smith was appointed post trader for the Custer expedition. He had neither capital nor goods for this project but he made arrangements with Jordan and Leighton to take on some goods at Fort Buford. When the steamboats came up the river carrying the remainder of the expedition to reinforce Custer, Smith and Coleman were on one of the boats and Mathews joined them to represent his firm and look after its interests. He was on

the Yellowstone at Powder River camp with Smith and Coleman when they sold liquor to the soldiers there. He was also at the camp near the mouth of the Big Horn river where there was a supply depot. He remembers seeing the *Far West* come down the river with a load of wounded men. Several days before, at this place, he and Coleman had heard rifle volleys in the direction of the Custer battlefield and he is sure that it must have been part of the firing during the fight of June 25 or the day following, for the wind was blowing in the right direction.³³

Fred Sweetman was with them on this trip. He had been a railway conductor up to this time and had come up the river with Smith from Fort Lincoln. He was a powerful man, six feet four inches tall. After several months Mathews returned to Fort Buford on the *Far West*. On his trip he had sold out everything, bringing back to Buford only a pair of counter scales. He had received \$200 per month while on this trip and when he returned to the store at Buford he worked at higher wages than he had received other years. Charles Larpenteur had left the spring before Mathews returned.

Mathews remained at the store until September, 1877. At this time he left Fort Buford and took a ranch on Stony Creek, two miles east of Williston. He hired John Fitzpatrick, W. S. Dunn, Pat Hewson, and Ed Moore of Buford to help him build his nine room log ranch house and his pole stable with a dirt roof.³⁴

The fall that he built he was chased by a band of Dako-

³³ Mathews said that he was at the mouth of the Little Big Horn at the time.

For the complete account see *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, VI., 206.

³⁴He had two teams of horses, and wagons with which he hauled the lumber for the floors, casings and doors from Fort Buford. He bought a cow from an officer leaving the fort and paid \$50 for it.

tas and was forced to take refuge at Fort Buford. This occurred just as he was driving out of a coulee about a mile from the fort. His off horse, which could smell an Indian before it could see one, gave a jump and both horses started racing, almost pulling the reins out of his hands. When he got control of them and looked around he saw a group of Indians riding toward him waving blankets and yelling. He rounded a high hill and saw Fort Buford down the hill in front of him. The sentry at the fort gave the alarm and the cavalry turned out and drove the Indians off and then escorted him back to his ranch. The Indians made a wide circuit to the right and fell upon the pony herd of the scouts at Fort Union and drove the animals off. During the skirmish, one Indian was shot in the hip and his horse was killed. The Indian was taken into Fort Buford and Dr. Crampton, the post surgeon, treated the wound. As soon as the Indian was cured they let him go.

On June 13, 1880, Mathews married Margaret McCanna of Miles City. The ceremony as performed by Father Chrysostum at Bismarck. Mathews came down to Bismarck on the steam boat, *Eclipse*, and went back to the ranch with his wife on the steamboat, *Helena*, Joseph Todd was captain of this boat.

Mathews kept a stopping place for travelers after his marriage. Each traveler brought his own blankets and slept on the floor. The ranch was twenty-five miles from Fort Buford and being on the regular military road was used by military men as well as civilians.³⁵ In one of the rooms he kept a store to furnish the wood camps with needed supplies. Mathews was the first man in that part

³⁵The officers from the fort came every fall to the ranch for the hunting it afforded. Ducks and geese abounded and deer were plentiful in the early winter.

of the state to raise oats. One year his crop averaged ninety-six bushels to the acre and he sold 8000 bushels at Fort Buford after threshing.³⁶ Leighton and Jordan, post traders, had an engine for wood sawing. They ordered a separator from St. Louis and it was sent on a steamboat. One mile below the junction of Stony Creek and Muddy Creek was a steamboat landing which Mathews used. The boat whistle in April, notifying them of the first arrival of the year, was always a very welcome sound.

In 1883 Geo. W. Grinnell was farming at Nesson, Dry Fork creek, in the Missouri river bottom. Grinnell persuaded Mathews to go on a buffalo hunt with him that year.

The two men were outfitted by Jordan and Leighton at Fort Buford. They bought between \$8,000 and \$10,000 worth of goods, principally flour, sugar, tea, coffee, blankets and ammunition. They had eight wagons with them. They drove to Fort Peck, crossed the Missouri and went twenty miles up the Dry Fork river, a stream in Montana flowing into the Missouri west of the Yellowstone and north of Miles City. Grinnell located and built the camp here early in the fall. This was where the last buffalo herd was hunted by white men. All the buffalo hunters in the country were there to get hides. Doctor Zahl had made a good stake in the same country, but Mathews and Grinnell had arrived a year too late for all the buffalo had begun to leave the country. The remnants of the herd broke away in the early spring and crossed the Missouri at Claggett, going up into Canada.

Mathews pulled out as early as possible in the spring, driving over the Missouri on the ice and back to Fort Buford. Grinnell and Mathews just managed to break even

³⁶General Hazen at Fort Buford had mentioned the soil of Dakota territory as being too poor to raise beans. He was much surprised at Mathew's oat crop.

on the venture. During his life in Dakota, Mathews met and came to know the Dakota Indians and was able to speak their language somewhat.

In 1904 Mathews gave up his ranch (800 acres) and filed on a quarter section of it as a homestead. He was the first settler to file on land at the old log court house at Williston. In 1905 he sold half of the homestead and moved to Williston. In 1911 he sold the remainder of his homestead and went to Portland, Oregon, where a son was living. He died at Wenatchee, Washington, November 26, 1922.³⁷

A. H. DELONG.

A. H. DeLong was born near Ogdensburg, New York, in 1842. His parents were born on Grand Isle, Lake Champlain, Vermont.³⁸ His grandfather, Hiram DeLong served in the Revolution; his service included the winter at Valley Forge. His father, Hiram DeLong, was born in 1799 and died in 1898, at Forest City, Minnesota. His mother, who was Maria Cassel, died at Greenleaf, Minnesota. The DeLongs moved to Wisconsin in 1849 and settled at Cold Springs, Jefferson Co. In 1858, Hiram's brother-in-law, Dana E. King, went to Minnesota to look for land and located in Meeker County, near the town of Greenleaf. Hiram DeLong followed King in 1859 and located on a homestead at Greenleaf. His wife did not come to Minnesota until 1864. The town of Greenleaf was first settled by Wm. H. Greenleaf in 1858 and the same year Judson Brink and his brother built the saw mill there. A. H. DeLong, when he came in 1859 found only the saw

³⁷At his death he left five sons, Robert C., James R., Wm. H., Edwin B., and John C.; his daughter, Elizabeth B., lives with her mother at Williston.

³⁸The material for this sketch was obtained from A. H. DeLong of Litchfield, Minnesota. (Ed.)

mill and two log cabins at Greenleaf. He worked in the saw mill and filed on a claim but did not attempt farming during the first years of his residence here.

As to early pioneer conditions he says:

"When I came to Greenleaf there was wild game of all sorts there. There were many deer and now and then an elk. Deer were very abundant. There were some elk out on the prairies. No buffaloes were seen until after the Indian outbreak. There were quite a number of black bears in the woods, also a number of wild cats and lynxes but no signs of beavers were seen. Much hunting and trapping was done for that was the only source of living. Mink, foxes, muskrats, and coons were trapped. The trapping was fine but the prices were low in Minneapolis and St. Paul, our only market. I sold my fur to traveling traders. During the winter of 1862-3 I killed sixty deer and a number of bears."³⁹

³⁹ "One day I came to Hutchinson to the only store that was there at the time. When I came into town I saw bear tracks on the hill where the college now stands. This was the year of '61. When I was at the store I saw four bear coming down towards the bridge. A man gave me a revolver and I went after them on a horse, just south of the old Henry Stocking place. There was a yearling, an old she bear and two sixty pound cubs. I ran them down east of town. The yearling ran back to the woods chased by a dog. The she bear and cubs ran into the willows and I shot at her. She ran back across the river and my horse fell throwing me over his head. I shot the old bear in the neck. I hit one of the cubs in the shoulder with a stone, keeping two charges in my revolver for protection. The blow slowed up the cub so I could catch him and when I was in the river I caught him by the leg and pulled him down the bank. He turned on me and fought and I let go. Then I chased him across to this side of the river and ran him round till I got a club and mauled him to death. The old bear sat up on the hill calling to her cubs. Two men came down with guns and two dogs and chased the little bear into the willows but the willows were so thick I couldn't strike him. A Newfoundland dog ran up to the bear and the bear knocked him senseless. Then they ran the bear down and my companion shot it. At another time I shot a bear in the woods. I shot him twice and the bear appeared to be dead. I went up with my knife to cut his throat and he snapped at my hand, just missing it."

"One year Ed Nichols and I were up on the Chippewa River in March 1861, when we had an adventure with an elk."⁴⁰

"There was no hunting for sport for the game was too plentiful. I killed elk and deer for the market but this was after the Indian outbreak. We did not do much market hunting before that time.

In the year 1859 there was an abundance of birds in the region around Greenleaf and there was much game nesting there. There were many Canada geese and they bred there."⁴¹

⁴⁰ "We were armed only with cap and ball Colt small bore revolvers. Ed got near the elk first but it did not run. It was a bull elk with very large antlers and showed fight. The dog, a mastiff, held the elk at bay and Ed shot him between the eyes and he fell, apparently dead. I was going up to cut his throat when he got up and started after me. I was about three rods from the river. I ran around a tree and the elk ran past. I threw down my knife, and pulling my revolver, I shot the elk through the lungs. Then I ran across the river on the ice and the elk chased me again. The dog attacked him and grabbed him by the nose but he tossed the dog from side to side and stood up on his hind feet and tried to paw the dog off. Then I shot him again and he started for me but the dog caught him from behind and held him for a moment. I ran to a snow bank and he was about 20 or 30 feet away when I shot five times and finished him. Nichols was still across the river on the other bank. We skinned the elk and packed the meat in the snow. We were going up the river looking for a trapping ground. We found a shack where some trappers were camping. We left a note on the door saying that they could take half the meat. When we came back half of the meat was gone. We never knew who the trappers were but this was the frontier custom. We made hand sleds and took the rest across the Chippewa River."

⁴¹ "Swans did not breed there but I saw some of them. There were many brants, the common white kind, some about half the size of common geese and the brown ones with striped breasts. They did not nest there but they were very abundant. I have seen hundreds of Canada geese at one time. Most of the market hunting was for ducks. I have shipped as many as 200 ducks in a day. Hal Works was a great market hunter and shipped every day during the season. He would hide in the coolies at Cosmos and kill many birds, earning a good deal of money in this way. In 1862 after the Indian outbreak, I went up Crow River from Cedar Lake to Cosmos and

De Long mentions the fact that in 1859-60 he often hunted with the Dakota chief, Little Crow, and that the chief shot left handed.

When the De Longs came to Minnesota they brought their goods in three wagons drawn by oxen. One wagon was especially heavy and was drawn by four oxen. The journey from Cold Spring to Greenleaf occupied six weeks. They came through Minneapolis and were ferried across the river at Fort Snelling. The trip from Minneapolis to Greenleaf took about two weeks. There were no railroads in the state. Carver was the nearest shipping point for steamboats and all supplies came overland from this place in wagons.

In 1861 A. H. DeLong sold 200 acres of land for \$400 and cleared \$100 on the deal. The same year he went into partnership with Edgar Nichols, son of George Nichols, to operate a flour mill. It was a custom mill, built in 1860 by George Nichols who came to Minnesota from the vicinity of Racine, Wisconsin. The mill was located on Cedar River at the outlet of Cedar Lake. The lumber was sawed at Greenleaf. It had two sets of stones that had been brought to Henderson and then freighted across to the mill. During the first year it was run by George Nichols and his nephew, Seth. There was a market for the flour at both the upper and lower Red Wood agencies of the Sioux Reservation on the Minnesota River. The mill was running at the time of the Indian outbreak in 1862.

Concerning early Indian trouble, De Long says:

"The only Indians around here were Sioux when I came. The Sioux Indians had the custom of coming in the fall and

killed 125 ducks. In the spring of 1861 when we went around to our traps one day we got six geese, a sand hill crane and 52 goose eggs. This was on Pomme de Terre River near Morris, Minnesota."

establishing their camp for the winter in the lake region around Greenleaf. They had a camp of from six to fifteen tepees each winter. They hunted, tanned the pelts and cured the meat all for their own use. No marketing was done at that time.

In the fall of 1860 when we were trapping west of Greenleaf we missed forty traps. We followed the tracks to an Indian tepee. The party consisted of Henry McGowan, Dr. V. P. Kennedy and me. We parleyed with the Indians and they refused to let us examine their blankets. Dr. Kennedy seized one of them by the shoulders and threw him off of the blankets. There were four Indians and they all jumped up and drew their knives. We held them at the point of revolvers while Kennedy examined their blankets. Only two traps were found. The others had been disposed of some way or other.

We had trouble the following spring with the Indians about mixing their trapping line along with ours on Crow River west of Greenleaf. The matter was brought to a head by Dr. Kennedy and myself. The doctor demanded that they take up their traps and upon their refusal he took up one and threw it into their boat. The Indians reset the trap. Then the Doctor threw it into the river. The Indians threatened us with guns but we stood our ground and covered them and they finally withdrew. They agreed to trap further up the river; after this the Indians were friendly and kept their agreement. This is the only trouble we had until the outbreak."

DeLong's account of the Indian outbreak is told in the following:

"The first news we had of the Indian outbreak was August 18th, 1862. A runner came down from Acton to Greenleaf carrying the news of the killing of the Jones and Baker families at Acton the day before, three men and two

women. This report reached me at Cedar Mills where I was then running a grist mill owned by George Nichols. Upon receiving the news I told Dan McGraw and Vincent Coombs and the three of us proceeded to Acton on horseback. We saw no Indians on the way.

"A number of settlers had already assembled at the scene of the tragedy and we took down a part of one of the cabins and from this wood made coffins for the victims of the outbreak. While we were there eleven Indians came along with ten mounts, two Indians riding on one mount. When they came where they could see the gathering they turned around and rode away hurriedly. Jim Atkinson, McGraw and I set out on horseback to overtake the Indians and find out the cause of the tragedy. We did not at that time realize that it was the beginning of a general Indian outbreak. We supposed that the killing was the result of a drunken expedition of a few irresponsible Indians and we believed that if we could overtake this group of Indians we could find out about it. We believed this as Jones, one of the victims, was reputed to be trading whisky to Indians for fur. But they fled from us and they finally came to a swamp and dismounted to lead their horses through but we kept on our mounts and in this way nearly overtook them before they reached the opposite side of the swamp. They shot over our heads. Atkinson shot towards the Indians but hit none of them. As there was only one gun in the party, we returned to the place where the crowd was gathered. We organized a party of seven and set out in pursuit of the Indians. We pursued them until dark. The last we saw of them they got into the brush around Lake Lillian and we were afraid to approach within gunshot of the brush. We withdrew and started back to Cedar Mills. We traveled all night through the swamps. We had breakfast the next morning at about 5 o'clock at the home of Henry

Lasher. When we stopped here we found that in travelling through the swamps our guns had become so soaked that they could not be discharged. We emptied them, reloaded, and proceeded to Cedar Mills. When we got to Cedar Mills a settler had arrived from across the river from the Red Wood Agency. All of his family had been killed the day before and this was the first news we had that there was a general uprising of the Indians.

"After getting the news of the outbreak from the man from Redwood we considered places of defense and decided to go to Forest City and build a stockade. The expedition got as far as Greenleaf when dissension arose and the party finally decided to go down to a peninsula on Cedar Lake and there to throw up fortifications and stand off any attack from the Indians. We went down there and cleared off part of the point and built breastworks. There were between 25 and 30 persons in this party about one-third of which were men of fighting age. After they had been there two days I became anxious about two of my sisters who lived in the neighborhood of Forest City. I set out on horseback and found them in a stockade that the settlers at Forest City had built. The stockaders at Forest City urged me to have the group at Cedar Lake join them in the stockade.

"When I got back to Cedar Lake I found that the fortified place had been abandoned. During my absence Chief Otherday, friendly Sioux Chief, had come to the camp with a group of refugees from the Yellow Medicine Agency and he advised the party that the place they had selected for the defense was absolutely impracticable as against the Indian method of warfare. The party, acting upon his advice, abandoned the place and proceeded to Hutchinson. When I got to the abandoned camp on Cedar Lake I picked up the trail of the party and in following it finally found a

board on the road, upon which a message had been penciled, stating that the party was on its way to Hutchinson. In the meantime Otherday had proceeded with his refugees from Cedar Lake to Carver or some point to the east. There was 33 refugees in the party, one of whom died from his wounds while making the trip. He died in a house near Cedar Mills.

"The day that I got into Hutchinson they had begun the building of the stockade in what is now the public square. I immediately enlisted in Harrington's Company. On the 2nd of September, '62, I was detailed with Captain Strout's Company to go to Acton. I guided Capt. Strout's company who were on foot. He was mounted. There were between 50 and 60 men in the expedition, six or seven men mounted and nine wagons. They took turns riding in the wagons. The purpose of the trip was to examine the scene of the Jones-Baker killing. We arrived there shortly before sundown. Strout, contrary to my advice, established his camp in among the buildings on the Jones place. I objected to this place as it furnished the Indians with a place of ambush. Andrew Hopper, Sr. was in the party and he and I both agreed as to the inadvisability of camping there but Strout would not listen to reason.

"About three o'clock the next morning Jessie Branham, Albert Sperry and a man by the name of Holmes came from the Forest City stockade to warn Capt. Strout not to proceed to Forest City in the manner that he had planned, which was between two lakes and which presented a natural ambush for the Indians. The next morning before sunrise we started on our trip to Forest City, the party being guided by Sperry and me. We proceeded at some distance ahead of the party and as Sperry and I came along the west side of Hoop Lake we noticed flashes of bright metal in a wheat field and we kept on watching the flashes. Finally we

noted the form of a man crawling away from us through the wheat. We realized then that it meant Indians. We went back and reported to Captain Strout what we had seen. As soon as we reported to Capt. Strout he immediately began to organize his men for defense in skirmish line. While this was going on an Indian suddenly rose from the wheat field jumped on top of a rail fence waving a gun in one hand and a blanket in the other defiantly and called to us to come on and fight. I swung on him with my rifle and shot him through the breast and he toppled off the fence. He threw up his hands and fell over backwards into the wheat. Some years later I found that this Indian was a son-in-law of Little Crow. He did not die immediately and was taken away by the other Indians and died a few days later. This, as far as I know, was the first Indian killed by the whites in Meeker and McLeod Counties. When I shot the Indian I shot from my saddle and shot so close to Capt. Strout that it annoyed him and he rebuked me. I was not a military man but a hunter and I supposed that the time to shoot was when I saw game. My mount was so unruly after I shot from the saddle that I dismounted to tie him to the wagon and while I was doing this a bullet came so close to my eyes that it blinded me for several seconds. I was sure that I had been hit and was surprised when feeling of my face I found no blood. Immediately after I shot the Indian a general fusilade was poured on us from the Indians hidden in the wheat field. When the general firing began our party deployed as skirmishers and returned the fire. Sperry and I went off from the party and laid down in the grass and shot at the Indians from there. We did not dare to raise ourselves out of the grass even to load our guns, which were muzzle loaders. During this fighting an Indian appeared riding horseback. I shot him and he rolled off his horse. The horse ran towards our

party and was caught by the soldiers. I also dropped an Indian in the hazel brush and killed him. Immediately afterwards a bullet hit the ground under me and threw dirt in my face. Finally Sperry and I found that the soldiers and wagons had all left and we proceeded in pursuit and probably escaped being killed by the Indians on account of the fact that their entire attention was on the wagons. Two of the wagons in passing through a stream had gotten tangled up and had to be abandoned by their drivers. In the meantime, Strout had gained high ground where he stopped and where we rejoined them. This was about three-fourths of a mile from the scene of the fight. This fight was in the town of Acton about one-half mile west of Hoop Lake. During the fight so far three of our party had been killed and several wounded. When we joined Strout's party on the high ground we found that Jesse Branham had been shot through one lung and there were quite a few wounded men. On our way on the trip to Acton there were two families that had left us and gone to Cedar Mills to cut their wheat and I was detailed to go and tell them to go to Hutchinson and then to proceed to Hutchinson myself for reinforcements. I started on horseback and as I went down over the hill to the creek I saw a lot of Indians who fired at me. I reported to Strout and the Captain insisted that it would be necessary to get word to the families at Cedar Mills and he detailed Judson Brink, Andrew Hoper and me to go through. We three were all from the Hutchinson camp and were picked by reason of the fact that we were familiar with Indian tactics. When we three started back where I had attempted to get through the Indians had left the creek and had taken up other positions where they could get nearer the wagons. We got through without any trouble, found the people at Cedar Mills, directed them to Hutchinson and then proceeded to

Hutchinson ourselves where we reported to Captain Harrington in command of the Hutchinson stockade. He detailed three or four teams and all the men that could be spared from the Hutchinson settlements and Brink and I proceeded with the Harrington detail.

• "On our way to the Strout Company we met them a little way south of Cedar Mills on their way to Hutchinson. We found that during their flight some of the teamsters to lighten their loads, had thrown off two barrels of brown sugar. This apparently had so attracted the Indians that they abandoned the attack for a while to eat the sugar and were further delayed in their attack by a fight among themselves over the sugar. We joined the Strout expedition then and returned to Hutchinson and brought in the wounded. Twenty-one men were wounded very severely. At eight o'clock the next morning some of the stockaders became restless and doubted any danger from the Indians. A man by the name of Heller, who had some uncut wheat on his farm in Acoma together with his son, started out with a team and wagon to look after their crops. Their leaving was contrary to the advice of the commanding officers and others but the Hellers persisted in their purpose ignoring orders to turn back by the guard at the bridge, and before they had proceeded far to the north of the river the elder Heller was shot by the Indians in the hip. At the time he was shot the elder Heller was walking ahead and when he fell, his son hurried up with the team and put his father in the wagon. Following the shooting of Heller Captain Harrington called for soldiers to go to Glencoe where, it was reported, there were three companies of soldiers. I volunteered and proceeded on horseback, stopping at Jim Chesley's place on the east side of the village to get my saddle. While I was there I saw some shooting from a poplar thicket next to the trail running from Glencoe

to Hutchinson, and which is now the state road between the two towns. The shooting I afterwards learned was the killing of Mrs. Spaude and her two children. After I got my saddle I continued on my way to Glencoe and saw no signs of any Indians. When I got down near Glencoe I came on to a company of soldiers coming from the Lake Allie region and they were on their way to Glencoe. I informed them of the situation at Hutchinson and they immediately started there. We were also joined by a party of mounted men from the counties to the south who had been organized for purposes of defense. On our way toward Hutchinson we picked up Jack Adams, who had been overtaken by the Indianas while he and his wife and baby were going to the stockade in Hutchinson. They were overtaken about one-half mile from Hutchinson on the Hutchinson-Glencoe road. When they were fired upon, Adams fled into the woods and had continued his fight until we met him. We afterwards found that his wife had been taken into captivity and she was afterwards freed at Camp Release. The baby apparently had been killed shortly after the capture of Mrs. Adams. The body was found the next day over the ridge to the west of the road. Our trip to Hutchinson was without any incident of interest. No Indians were seen. We got to Hutchinson about sundown and the fight was then over with. Several buildings including the Pendergast Academy had been burned. The saw mill was also burned and two or three houses in the woods to the west of the stockade. During the day of the fight at Hutchinson while they were moving goods and provisions from the stores to the stockade, while Andrew Hopper, Jr., was carrying a sack of boots from the store to the stockade he was shot at by the Indians, and the bullet lodged among the boots but did not hurt him."

DeLong worked the mill until the fall of 1862 when

he enlisted in the Volunteer Scout service at Hutchinson, under Captain Harrington, for a term of three months. He went on scouting trips with Andrew H. Hopper, searching for signs of Indians, sometimes going twenty-five or thirty miles at a scout. Whenever his detachment needed flour, DeLong would take a number of men with him to his mill at Cedar Lake where they would stand guard on the surrounding hills while he ground the flour. After grinding he always took the belts off and hid them, because otherwise the Indians were likely to set all the machinery going for their own amusement.

DeLong made two trips to St. Paul with dispatches while in the scout service. On one trip he left Hutchinson at 4:00 P. M., riding to Glencoe and then on to Garver, on the Minnesota River. He left his horse here and took the boat to St. Paul. He started back that same day with his answer and was in camp at midnight of the second day. At another time he made a night trip to Fort Ridgeley.

When the Third Minnesota regiment which had been in the south, was paroled, and sent out on the Indian campaign, DeLong guided them to Fort Ridgeley. They set out for Forest City, stopping at Acton to bury three men who had been killed in the attack on Captain Strout's company, September 3, 1862. These men all belonged to Strout's company. From here the regiment moved to Forest City, then to Cedar Mills, and on to Fort Ridgeley. Here DeLong's term of enlistment expired and he returned to his mill at Cedar Lake until the next summer.

He was still at the mill when the Third Minnesota joined Sibley and his troops and defeated the Indians at the battle of Wood Lake. The Indians were divided into two parties, friendly and hostile. Sibley marched to the camp of the peaceful Indians and established Camp Release to which the friendly Dakotas brought the white

women and children who had been taken captives by the hostile Indians. To this camp of Sibley were also brought the hostile Indians from whom were selected the thirty-eight who were later hanged at Mankato.

On June 4, DeLong again enlisted as a scout, this time at St. Paul under General Sibley. He was sent to Camp Pope and from here set out in advance of the Sixth Regiment, with a company of sixty scouts under Joseph Brown, chief of scouts.⁴² The company was composed of Dakota Indians, half-breeds and whites. It was divided into two squads. DeLong's squad under the command of Captain Wm. J. Duly, and the other under Captain George McLeod.⁴³ Other members of the company were Frank LaFrambois, several of the Renvilles, including Gabriel, Old Paul, a Dakota, and Wagner, a white. The scouts went as far as Big Stone Lake and a squad was sent out to Fort Abercrombie for supplies for the regiment. Joseph LaFrambois was the guide of this squad. They returned with food, supplies and mail to Camp Hayes, north of the Sheyenne river, where the main army was camped. When the scouts arrived here they held a flag-raising ceremony. There was a fine well here with a curbing made from two barrels, one sunk far down into the earth and another one sunk half way down on the first.

When the regiment set out from Camp Hayes they sent a squad of scouts ahead to pick the camping place for the next day. Hiram Sanborn was with DeLong and

⁴² See sketch of Victor Renville in *Collections of the State Historical Society of N. D.*, V., 251.

⁴³ When the thirty-eight Indians were hanged at Mandan in 1862, Capt. Wm. J. Duly knocked out the block that set off the drop. The Indians had killed three of his children and his wife and two children were held captive among the Indians until 1864, when they were ransomed by Maj. Galpin at Ft. Pierre. Bryant and Murch, *A History of the Great Massacre by the Sioux Indians in Minnesota*, St. Peter, 1872, p. 477.

Tucka in this squad. One day they passed the trail of Little Crow's son, and they learned later from him when he was captured, that he was lying in ambush on their trail and that he would have shot them if he had had cartridges enough. When he was captured he had thrown away his own gun and taken that of his father.

At Fort Atchinson, Captain Burke was placed in command of a scout to Devils Lake. When the expedition reached Dead Buffalo Lake, their transport in the rear was almost captured. Here the cavalry which was ahead in pursuit of the Indians, was ordered to camp until the infantry came up. Instead they turned back, lost their way and traveled all night astray. This gave the fleeing Indians the advantage of a twenty-four hours start until the cavalry got in with the line of march. At Big Mound the scouts were caught between the Indians and the Sixth Regiment of infantry which was intrenched there.

This year, 1863, patrol line posts had been placed every ten miles along the route from Fort Ridgely through Buffalo Lake, Puritan Lake, Pipe Lake, Long Lake, Mananah, and Sauk Center. The soldiers rode this line early when there was dew on the grass so that they could easily see if any Indians had gone by. They were able to find a few trails in this way and succeeded in trailing and killing a number of hostile Indians.

After his services with Sibley, DeLong returned to the mill at Cedar Lake. He found that Edward Nichols, his partner, had gone into the army. When the saw mill was remodeled that year and an engine put in, DeLong hauled the parts from Minneapolis and bought an interest in the remodeled mill. In 1864, a grist mill was added with King and DeLong, partners. DeLong traded his old farm for his half interest. This same year he married Celia Nichols, daughter of George Nichols. In 1866 he sold out his inter-

est in the saw mill to L. S. Weymouth, and his interest in the grist and flour mill to James McDonald of Minneapolis. He then bought the old farm at Greenleaf that had belonged to his father's estate.

Later he and his son Frank purchased a feed and flour mill at Hutchinson and went into business there together. They sold the Hutchinson business in 1895 and bought a flour mill at Forest City from C. A. and W. H. Greenleaf. They continued running this mill until 1909 and since that time the mill has been rented.

A. H. DeLong's first wife died in 1876. In 1878 he married Mary E. Post. He had one son, Frank A., by his first wife. Other children in Hiram DeLong's family were Emily M., later Mrs. Dana E. King; Mary E., later Mrs. Norman Pixley; Cordelia J., later Mrs. W. H. Greenleaf; Thaddeus, who was in the Tennessee-Wisconsin Regiment and died after the Civil War; Francis, who was also in the Civil War, and was killed in the Greenleaf saw mill in 1866. A. H. DeLong still resides at his home in Litchfield, Minnesota.

O. F. SPERRY

O. F. Sperry was born in Amboy, Hilldale county, Michigan, in 1847. His father, Jeremiah Sperry, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1803, and died September 18, 1869. His mother, Jerusha P. Osborn, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1806, and died in 1863. His father recalls that when a boy of about three years of age, he was taken by his father to witness the first trial of Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*. This took place in 1807 on the Hudson River.⁴⁴

In 1857 the family moved to Minnesota. The journey

⁴⁴The material for this sketch was obtained by a personal interview with O. F. Sperry.

was made in a covered wagon, the family camping along the way. Their live stock consisted of one four-ox team, one two-ox team, one team of horses, and several cows. They started in May and reached Owatonna July 4, 1857. When they arrived at Plum Creek, they removed their wagon box, made it water tight and ferried across in it. They made the livestock swim the stream. They took the ferry from Galena to Dubuque and then went on to LaSeur where they lived for a year.

Jeremiah Sperry's two brothers had been there several years before and had built a house and had their farm under cultivation. In 1858 they made a trade with the former owner of their farm, J. H. Gates, and they took his farm near Wilmar for the one they were on. This farm was located at Harrison, near Diamond Lake, between Wilmar and Atwater. Here the family stayed until the Indian war in 1862.

An inn was kept at Acton by Jones, who had married a widow named Baker. Here he carried on the illicit sale of liquor to the Indians. One day a party of Indians came into the inn and bought some liquor. Soon afterwards the Indians became ugly and Jones fled for safety to a neighbor, Howard Baker, leaving the hired girl alone at the inn. After killing the girl, the Indians followed Jones over to Baker's, a half mile away. The Indians set up a target and invited the whites to come out and shoot at it with them. The whites came out and as soon as they had fired at the mark, and before they could reload, the Indians opened fire on them. They followed this up by killing all the whites at this place except Baker's wife and little daughter. The woman crept into the cellar with her baby, closing the trap-door behind them, and escaped the Indians. The settlers at Forest City heard of the massacre and sent out a party to get the story of the killing. The party rescued

the woman and baby and on Monday, August 18, buried those who had been killed. The town of Harrison also sent out three scouts to find out the truth concerning the rumored massacre. One of these scouts was Albert H. Sperry, a brother of O. F. Sperry. After reporting at Harrison, two of the scouts went on to Forest City.

The Indians who had begun the massacre stole horses at Kandyohi Lake and rode to the Yellow Medicine Agency to tell the rest of the Indians that the fighting had begun. Here the Indians voted to begin the massacre. On Tuesday, Aug. 19, O. F. Sperry and his brother were working in the field when news came to them of the stealing of the horses by the Indians, and they reported this at once to their father.

When the scouts came back from Forest City they found all the settlers gathered at the home of Joe D. Harris. That night (Wednesday) they all voted to leave for Forest City in the morning. Each man was first to go back to his home and pick up what goods he wanted and the women were to stay behind and cook meals and take care of the children. The men had hardly started out before they met Andrew Nelson, who was barefoot, bleeding, and almost naked. He had come from the west and reported that the Indians were fighting at Foot Lake. Upon receiving this news the men turned back and took the women and children immediately to Forest City.

Further, Nelson told them how he had gone to the house of Solomon Foot, a half-breed. Seeing some Indians who appeared to be hiding near the house, he did not go in but concealed himself and called to Foot. The Indians tried to decoy him in by mimitating Foot's voice, but he discovered their trick and tried to escape unobserved. The Indians pursued him, oftentimes getting so close that they could almost touch him with their hands, but he suc-

ceeded in escaping them and next morning reached the settlers at Harrison as above stated.

Foot had taken the alarm earlier and had started with his family for his brothers house. Unknown to him the Indians were on his trail and he stopped for the night at the home of a Norwegian by the name of Erickson. The Indians came up and camped just outside the yard. They asked for kettles in which to boil their food and for someone to dig potatoes for them. Erickson sent out Swede Charley, who was a half-wit and did not know enough to be afraid. Foot went out to parley with the Indians but was shot with nine buckshot and had to be dragged into the house by his friends. The Indians after killing Swede Charley laid siege to the house and kept up a close fire on it for two or three days. Erickson was also badly wounded and the two disabled men were hidden on a rude floor of poles and boards laid on the joists overhead.

Foot sent the women and children out in the night to look for help. They managed to escape the Indians and to get into the underbrush where they lay hidden all night with the Indians all about them. They finally reached the cabin of Foot's brother, Silas, but found it deserted. This cabin was on a point of land on the shore of Green Lake, and the women decided that if they were attacked by the Indians they would run to the edge of the bank and drown themselves and their children in the lake rather than be taken prisoners.

The next morning while the women were getting breakfast they were terror-stricken to see a horse's head suddenly appear outside the window. They believed they had been trapped by the Indians but were relieved to find that the driver of the horse was a white man. They found him to be McMaster who was with his father. The two were out with their household goods evading the draft.

They were not aware of the massacre but had noticed that everything along their way was deserted, and when they saw smoke issuing from the chimney of the cabin they drove up to inquire what was going on. The women told the men their story and the McMasters drove them safely to Forest City in their wagon.

Meanwhile Foot and Erickson had lain four days and nights in their cabin without food or water. The August heat was intense and their wounds were full of maggots. On the fourth day a woman and her fourteen-year-old son escaping from the Indians with their ox team, stopped at Foot's cabin and started to hitch their oxen to his wagon. The boy had been wounded in the arm and the woman was too weak to travel further on foot. They had some trouble in getting the oxen hooked up and the noise attracted the attention of Foot and Erickson. The men called to them and the boy and his mother went in to see who was there. They found the two wounded men, carried them out to the wagon and took them to Forest City where both recovered from their wounds. Solomon Foot later served in Company B of Hatch's battalion. His daughter was at Harrison and joined her family when they arrived at Forest City.

The Sperry party that had set out from Harrison for Forest City got off an hour ahead of the Indians. The party of Silas Foot, brother of Solomon Foot, was an hour behind the Sperry party and was attacked by Indians. The wagon containing Foot's family was followed by two Swedes on foot who were driving the cattle. The Indians first tomahawked the two Swedes, whereupon Silas Foot and William Couch attacked the Indians with their rifles and drove them off.

The Forest City Indian Volunteers were later organized into a unit of the state militia. About this time the cattle

of the Harrison settlers escaped from the corral at Forest City and strayed back to the settlement. A company of men went out and recovered the cattle but did not return directly to Forest City. They went by way of Painesville to return the horses they had borrowed from Captain Whitcomb who was stationed there. Their delay in returning caused much anxiety to their families at Forest City.

Strout's company got into Indian country unawares and were found by three scouts, A. H. Sperry, Jesse Brannum, and Holmes, who had started out from Forest City at night and found the company encamped with no sentries out except the stable guard. The scouts advised instant retreat but the company was attacked by Indians and driven back to Hutchinson after a running fight of twenty-five miles. Here they were besieged for four or five days. Brannum was shot through the lungs and Sperry stayed at Hutchinson to take care of him.

Leaving the troops at Forest City, the settlers went back to Monticello for safety, but Sperry's father and brother stayed with the troops at Forest City. O. F. Sperry went on with his mother, who had been taken ill, and she died the next day from exposure.

Sperry relates what he considers some of the contributing causes of the Indian outbreak. The Dakotas at Yellow Medicine were starving and they attacked the warehouse there to get flour to feed their women and children. Some time before the outbreak the Indians had killed two of Sperry's steers, but no notice was taken of this. The Dakota annuities were three months in arrears and paymaster Horace H. Thompson, president of the First National Bank of St. Paul, tried to persuade the Indians to take greenbacks in place of the gold that was promised them, although the gold was three to one below par. The

white advisers of the Indians warned them not to take the paper money.

The following year, 1863, Sperry and his brother enlisted in the United States army and joined Hatch's battalion. This unit consisted of four companies, A, B, C, and D. The Sperrys belonged to company B, under Captain Whitcomb. The unit was sent to Fort Abercrombie and while here Sperry was taken with typhus pneumonia. The battalion was then ordered to Pembina and he followed in an ambulance as far as Georgetown. A portion of his own company was left at Fort Abercrombie to guard the provisions that were to be shipped to Pembina by a half-breed train from that place. He marched to Pembina with this part of his company, arriving on New Year's Day, 1864. Here he found the troops hilarious; they were shouting and waving scalps on poles, and celebrating wildly.

A few days before this a Chippewa chief had brought them information of a camp of Dakotas on the American side and a group of volunteers had set out for the Indian camp. The commander of this expedition was a certain lieutenant who had previously had the misfortune to lose some Indian prisoners and his command had suffered considerable loss from the soldiers being wounded by the escaping prisoners. They found a few Indians in a shack and took them prisoners. The soldiers then surrounded the Dakota camp and fired into it, killing everyone in the camp, women, children and old men. This was a friendly band of Dakotas who were on their way back to the reservation and at the time of the attack most of the warriors were out hunting. The soldiers were celebrating this event when Sperry arrived. Hatch's battalion left Pembina early in 1864.

ANDREW MARSH

Andrew Marsh was born in Waukegan, Lake county, Illinois, on May 30, 1848. His father, Abraham Marsh, was born in England, and while a young man came to New York. Later he located at Waukegan and was married there to Elizabeth McClure. She was born in Scotland and migrated to this country, settling with her brothers at Chicago. She owned 160 acres on the site of what is now Chicago. this land she sold for \$1000. Her brothers also had farms in the same locality and they sold their quarter-sections for the same price.

Marsh joined the army in the fall of 1864, under General Thomas, and went south in the spring of 1865. He learned of the end of the war while at Tallaloma. He was mustered out of the service at Memphis and in the fall of 1862 he received his discharge at Springfield, Illionis.

In 1865 his brother, James, went to Sioux City, Iowa. The year following, his father sold their farm and moved into the city of Waukegan, and in 1867 Andrew followed his brother. He went by rail to Dennison, the terminus of the road, and then traveled the last sixty miles to Sioux City by stage.

In 1867 he left Sioux City in the employ of Hedger and Bogue of that city, who held the beef contract for all the forts as far up the river as Fort Rice. His party drove the cattle overland and the Indians gave them much trouble. With him were Charles Hedger, contractor, James Marsh, his brother, and Dewey and Sawyer, two cattle herders. As guards there were thirteen soldiers and thirteen Dakota scouts, one of whom was Cold Hand. The cook and interpreter was White Bear (LeKota), who was an old trapper and died in Canada long after this date. They started in June with 1600 head of cattle and were fifty-two days on the trip.

After the delivery of the cattle, Marsh went down the Missouri on the steamboat *Deer Lodge*, as far as Fort Sully. Wm. Buckner, a negro known as "Old Buck," was porter on the boat. He worked that fall for John Dillon in a hay and wood camp. He returned north in the winter to Bullberry Island, opposite the Lower Cheyenne agency, where he worked under Dillon and McCarthy, cutting wood for steamboats. The wood was sold to the steamboats for \$15 per cord.⁴⁵

There were twenty-three men in the wood camp on Bullberry Island. They were divided into two groups of choppers each under a boss. The names of some of the men in the camp were John W. Bailey, the cook,—a Connecticut Englishman, William Walpole, Frank Hunter, William McKinley, Henry Nagle, Joseph Layer from Holland, Joseph Miller, who afterward had a wood yard at Sibley Island, a Frenchman named Archambault, Fred Edgar (perhaps Agar), John Barker, and Smith. They hauled wood to the bank of the river with oxen. They turned these animals loose at night to forage for themselves. There was some trading with the Indianas also, the traders exchanging tea, sugar, flour, and tobacco for buffalo robes. During this winter there were two other wood camps in operation not far from there. Basil Clement and a man named Martin had one camp, four miles above the present Cheyenne Agency on the west side of the river.⁴⁶ Major Galpin had a camp on the west bank of the Missouri river at the site of the present Fort Yates.

In the spring the steamboat, *Success*, under Captain Ray, arranged to take John Dillon and ten choppers of his party to the bend in the Missouri on the site of the present

⁴⁵ For wood prices and wood chopping, see *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, II., pt. I., 341-342.

⁴⁶ Basil Clement. For a sketch of his life, *ib.*, I., 341-343.

Indian Farm School below Fort Yates. Among the men were Fred Edgar (Aagar), Smith, Alexander Laundey, Henry Nagle, Ben Arnold, Negro Tom, Andrew Marsh, and Blackstock, who was hired as guard. The party worked until June and then dropped down the river ten miles to continue cutting on the same side. Henry Arnold and Blackstock stayed behind in charge of the woodyard. Arnold's body was found in the fall by another party of wood choppers. Blackstock was arrested for murder and confined in the prison at Fort Sully during the winter of 1868-69. He was suspected of murdering Arnold for his money as he was never known to do any work and seemed to have plenty of money. He was later dismissed for lack of evidence.

At this lower camp the men worked for two weeks, but having broken their wagon, they decided to return to Sioux City. They shipped the bulky part of their outfit by steamboat. Five of the men went down the river in a skiff, Andrew Marsh, Harry Duffey, Mathew Kapler, and a Frenchman named LaVere; this trip took over seven days.

In the fall of 1868, Marsh drove a herd of cattle up to the Grand River agency for the Indians. He started from Bon Homme under Dr. Burleigh, a Congressman from Yankton, and a member of the firm, Burleigh, Hedger and Bogue. These were the first cattle distributed to the Indians after the treaty of 1868 which was negotiated by Generals Terry, Sherman, Harney and Sheridan. The cattle were driven in two herds and the head boss over the two outfits was John Harding. Others of the party were Nick Comfort, the cook, Pat Comfort, who was a deputy marshal at Bismarck, Hugh Locke, and a man named Wright. They saw buffalo all the way to Fort Randall.

Again Marsh joined a wood cutting crew under Dillon

and McCarthy. Among the men in this party were Pat Comfort, Wm. McKinley, and John McCarthy. They located their camp one mile below the present town of Mo-bridge on the east side of the Missouri river, where they spent the winter of 1868-69 and the following summer. In the summer of 1869 they went to Pierre for better wages but returned to their camp. The wages in 1867 were \$2.00 per cord and board, and in 1868, \$3.00 and board.

Shortly after his return from Pierre, March began chopping wood for William Gayton at a point opposite the present Indian Farm School below Fort Yates, at Little Soldier Bottom, a name given the place by steamboat men. He worked here until the fall of 1871 when his outfit moved to Horsehead Bottom, three miles below the mouth of the Cannon Ball river. This was good range country and when the raising of cattle begun, the steamboat business diminished. The choppers here were Henry Barnes, Philip Vauk, William Wade, still living on the Cannon Ball, John Murphy, and Andrew Marsh. They erected buildings that fall and had them all completed except for putting on the roofs when the camp was attacked by seven Arikara Indians led by Bob-tailed Bull.⁴⁷ The Indians shot Marsh's wife, a Dakota, and stole his mules. He pursued them and succeeded in getting back his mules. Marsh heard afterward that these Arikaras had a scalp dance at Apple Creek in the vicinity of McLean's ranch, at a bridge near the house of a Frenchman called Patineau.⁴⁸ At this place there was also a party of Frenchmen from the south. Du Chenault was their leader. Marsh worked for Gayton until the spring of 1873 when he moved to a place two miles above what is now Fort Yates. Here on the west

⁴⁷ Bob-tailed Bull, see *Collections of the State Historical Society, of North Dakota*, VI., 53 ff.

⁴⁸ Patineau (Packenau), Charles, *Ib.*, I., 176.

side of the river, he started a wood yard of his own. He had four choppers, John Harrison, William Gardner, Saddler, William Wade, and A. J. Lapham. He was here only a few months, for the Dakotas tried to steal his mules and finally drove him out.

He then rafted back with five men to the east side of the river, swimming his mules across. He started another wood yard on a point opposite the present Fort Yates. In the fall of 1873 he built a double log house and stayed here for two years. While here he again married, this time a Dakota woman named Striped Elk. The summer of 1875, Marsh and Thomas Foley contracted to furnish timber to build Fort Yates. That fall Marsh returned to William Gayton's and cut wood there until February 1876.

On February 1, he set out from Bismarck for the Black Hills. The party he intended to go with had started two days ahead of him and he with his two companions, Bill Anderson and Winters, overtook the party at the Cannon Ball river. Henry Herron of this party was killed at Rapid City, and Marsh heard that during the summer twelve others lost their lives. He returned with the party, which arrived at Bismarck just when Captain Grant Marsh came down the river on the steamboat, *Far West*, with the wounded from the Little Big Horn battlefield.⁴⁹

During the winter of 1876-77 Marsh again cut wood with William Gayton at Horsehead Bottom. In the summer of 1877 he located at what is now Vanderbilt, near the state line, and while here his cutter, a deserter from the United States army named Lucas, killed a Dakota Indian. Marsh died in the St. Lukes hospital at Aberdeen, South Dakota, on Dec. 8, 1913.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Captain Grant Marsh was in command of the steamboat *Far West*. *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota*, VI., 143 and note.

⁵⁰ The material for this sketch was obtained by a personal interview with Andrew Marsh.

**HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE NORWEGIANS
IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY**

BY AXEL TOLLEFSON

Early Immigration of the Norwegians to the Red River Valley

When the Civil War had closed and the Indians had been forced westward, away from the Red River valley, there was again an opportunity for westward expansion. The approach of the Norwegian settlers to this region was, however, very slow. Several soldiers who took part in General Sibley's expedition were Norwegians and they suffered so much from mosquitoes, thirst and tiresome traveling through the rough prairies of Dakota that they received a very poor impression of the country. They all seemed to agree with General Hazen that the land of Dakota was unfit for civilized persons, and was adapted only for Indians, wild animals and mosquitoes.¹ Under these circumstances, before the land could be settled, it would be necessary for the land seekers to know more about the land. The one who undertook the task of investigation was Paul Hjelm Hansen, a man who is just coming to be recognized for his part in the development of the Red River valley.

¹ From an article by Dr. H. Fjelde, Fargo, N. D., in the *Norman-den*, September 22, 1915.

Hjelm Hansen was born in Bergen, Norway, December 10, 1810, and entered the profession of law in 1834. He was an able lawyer and a prominent office holder with bright prospects for the future. The chief public positions that he occupied were district judge in Ringerike and upper Telemarken; sheriff, and, in 1848, chief of one of the bureaus of the audit department in Christiania. A successful career as a public officer was barred to him, however, on account of his participation in the Thraniter movement of 1849-50. This movement was the work of an organization to better the conditions of the laborers.² A petition was addressed to the king and among the many signatures was that of Hjelm Hansen. That a prominent man like Hansen should participate in this popular movement was very distasteful to the conservatives and he soon gave up his office. He chose journalism instead and worked for some years in this pro-

²Marcus Thrane, from whom the movement received its name, had traveled in France and Switzerland where he became acquainted with the leading Socialists of the time. He was a "talented agitator and an able organizer" and undertook to unite the laborers and the *Husmænd* and to organize them into clubs and societies so that they might learn to cooperate. He also addressed a petition to the king asking that the right of suffrage should be extended to the laboring classes. On July 31, 1850, a convention of labor delegates was assembled in Christiania and a platform was agreed upon. The demands were free trade, the abolition of trade privileges, restriction of the liquor trade, a better regulation of the relations between *Bønder* and *Husmænd*, better public schools, universal suffrage, and universal military service. Gjerset, *History of Norwegian People*, II., 508-10.

fession, but soon found it advisable to emigrate.³

Hjelm Hansen favored emigration chiefly as a remedy for the unfavorable social and economic conditions of the rural population of Norway. Unlike many of his countrymen he had an unprejudiced idea of North America as a home for emigrants. He decided to go to America to see the country in which he had for a long time been interested and about which so much had been written. He wished, also, to secure a better home for himself and friends there. He left Norway early in the spring of 1867 as a passenger on the three masted ship, the *Nor*, commanded by Captain Koch. The ship reached Quebec in April, 1867, after a fifty days' journey from Christiania. Upon his arrival in this country, Hansen immediately went to La Crosse, Wisconsin. This city was at that time the distributing point for the Norwegian immigrants in that part of the northwest, which included western Wisconsin, southern Minnesota, northern Iowa, and the southern part of Dakota territory.

Here he secured a position in the editorial department of *Fædrelandet og Emigranten*,⁴ a place

³He was for some time editor of *Drammens Tidende* and later he was a contributor to *Morgenbladet*. Among the articles he contributed to that paper are: "The Emigration to America and the Condition of the Norwegian Farmers," "Concerning America," "The Norwegian Emigrant and the Norwegian Emigration Company," "Something about the Affairs of the Small Tenant and the Emigration," "Some Facts concerning America," and, "The States and the Territories of North America."

⁴*The Fatherland and the Emigrant*, a Norwegian paper published in La Crosse, Wisconsin.

that he continued to hold until June, 1869, when he made a trip to the Northwest. Among his contributions during the two years that he stayed in this city may be mentioned two, the first dated April, 1868, entitled "Something about America." In these articles he gives statistical information regarding the vast areas of America, and tells about the large regions yet uncultivated and the opportunities that awaited artisans, laborers, tradesmen, and farmers. In the second article he gives his opinion, which was not the most flattering, concerning the Democratic party of America. This article, however, is not exclusively political but contains statements which show that Hjelm Hansen, although a newcomer, had a clear view of American affairs. He writes: "I consider it an honorable duty to call the attention of my countrymen to the fact that the participation in public affairs is not a privilege that one can refrain from without consequences. On the other hand it is a sacred and invariable duty of every American citizen, born in this or another country . . . Every one who wishes to preserve the republic ought therefore with all his heart fulfil the public duties, which the constitution claims."

The Board of Immigration of Minnesota decided to direct the influx of immigrants to the western part of the state and in order to do so

that region had to be explored. Upon recommendation by Lars Aaker, senator from Goodhue county, Minnesota, and F. S. Christensen, who had become acquainted with him in La Crosse, Hjelm Hansen was chosen to undertake the trip and one thousand dollars were appropriated by the Immigration Board of Minnesota to defray his expenses.⁵ On June 17, 1869, he left La Crosse and commenced his first trip to the Red River valley. He passed by steam boat up the Mississippi river and after a short stay in Red Wing and St. Paul, Hansen arrived in Minneapolis on June 24. The only railroad in use north and west of the Twin Cities at that time extended only to St. Cloud, about sixty-four miles north of these cities. From St. Cloud he proceeded eighty-one miles by stage through Sauk Center to Alexandria, reaching the latter place on Sunday, July 4th. Several Norwegians were located here and Hansen stayed there eight days, making arrangements for the journey into the more unsettled regions. From Alexandria his road ran through the wilderness and this part of the trip could not be taken without considerable preparation.

Hjelm Hansen, who was unaccustomed to outdoor life and the inconveniences connected with such a journey, hesitated about going far-

⁵ *Norsk Amerikanernes Festskrift*, Decorah, Iowa, 1914, 64-65.

ther. He was, however, fortunate in finding good traveling companions and he decided to finish his trip. His companions, besides the driver, were, Brown, a Norwegian merchant in Alexandria, and Torgerson, who for some years had been a farmer in Wisconsin, and who was son of Chamberlain Torgerson in Christiania. On the afternoon on the 12th day of July these men commenced their journey westward. Hansen writes:

“Our position was indeed comical, as we were situated in the midst of barrels of provisions and all our trumpery of cook and roasting utensils, in a large farm wagon, pulled by two large oxen who passed through town with the most solemn steps We have secured a conveyance at \$2.50 per day, besides the meals to the driver. We have arranged for provisions for four weeks. It will necessary be an expensive and a difficult journey but this can not be taken into account, as I understand that this region is considered to be of incalculable value for every Scandinavian American.” By the 31st of July Hansen and his company had returned to Alexandria and immediately upon his return he sent a long letter to the *Nordisk Folkeblad*, published in Minneapolis, in which he gives a vivid description of his trip and of the valuable land that he had seen.

A portion of this letter, describing his first trip

to the Red river and the fertile land contained in the valley, is quoted here:

“Since I have returned from the Red river I shall immediately forward to you a few lines in order that you may learn as soon as possible, that I have not become a victim to Indians, half-breeds, buffalos, bears or other uncivilized patrons, but on the contrary that I am in the best condition I have made a trip, a genuine American pioneer trip in the wilderness with a farm wagon and oxen. I have spent the nights in the open wagon with a buffalo skin under my head and as tent I had, like the Vikings of Frithjof, the blue heaven. In storm, thunder, lightning, and rain, I was thus lying in the open air. On rough roads I have been thrown from one side of the wagon to the other, and at times, when driving across rocks and stumps, I have been thrown up in the air to come down on the hard wagon planks. I have been tortured and troubled by mosquitoes in such a way that I had to sit up in the wagon and incessantly use my handkerchief to protect myself against the small impertinent creatures so voracious after human blood. Still on the whole journey I felt better than ever before. On the prairies of Minnesota, nearly half ways between the Atlantic and the Pacific ocean, and where I spent twelve days and nights in the open air, I got rid of my rheuma-

tism and in its stead I have gained valuable strength and a cheerful mind. Indeed, the climate here is as much of a strength producer as the land is beautiful and fertile. The northern end of Pelican lake, which we reached the second day of our journey, forms the starting point of the great unsettled prairie which extends to Fort Garry in the British Dominions. The prairie from Pomme de Terre river to Fort Abercrombie resembles a green ocean whose waves are formed by the tall grass. On the east, at some places, one may see the appearance of land of the great Ottertail county, but on the western side there is nothing to behold except the green ocean At the evening of the fourth day we reached Fort Abercrombie, which has a garrison of 100 men. The land here is very beautiful and well supplied with trees. Red river forms the division line between the Dakota territory and Minnesota, and the fort is located on the Dakota side

“The width of the prairie by this fort, between Red river on the west and Buffalo river on the east, is only eighteen or twenty miles and this width is continually decreasing, until one reaches Georgetown, where both rivers unite and continue their flow into the British Dominions. About twenty miles north of the fort, the width of the prairie is only six or eight miles

and there is considerable amount of woods on both sides of the rivers extending about thirty miles northward or even to Georgetown. The flow of the rivers form various curves into the land and these curves which on three sides are surrounded by trees while the fourth lies open toward the prairies, form very beautiful places for buildings in shelter of the woods. The whole prairie, which is without undulate or rising, is the most fertile land that one may desire. It is composed of rich mold with a slight mixture of sand on a substratum of clay. On these prairies are places for many thousand farmers. The woods consist chiefly of elm, asp and oak. A Catholic French missionary has a station twenty-five miles north of Fort Abercrombie as there are in these regions a considerable number of so-called half-breeds, half French and half Indian, who as a rule speak only French. This year two Norwegian settlers have secured homesteads near this station

“At the close of the sixth day we reached Georgetown, which is located about fifty miles from Fort Abercrombie at the point where the Red river and Buffalo river unite. Here the people have commenced to build a town, and there is supposed to have been a considerable number of settlers here before the Indians commenced their massacres but the settlers left dur-

ing the Indian war and have not returned. On account of its situation Georgetown will undoubtedly in a near future become an industrious and a prospering town. It is the center of a large and fertile tract of land to which the settlers will come in large numbers as soon as the railroad is built. It is already a stopping place for the steam boats of the Hudson Bay Company, which during the spring, when the water is high, come up here to get the merchandise sent from St. Cloud; but in summer, when the water is low, have to stop at Frog Point (now Belmont, N. D.) forty miles farther down, Georgetown is practically the center of four or five stations, which, as conditions now are, must get their merchandise by wagon transportation from St. Cloud. It is lying in the best region for trade with the Indians and half-breeds who at present must bring the products of their hunting to St. Paul. It has sufficient water power for manufacturing, it is surrounded by considerable woods, and it may, at least for some time, consider the whole Red River valley, up to Fort Garry, as its trade district, since the inhabitants in these regions at present have to bring all the necessities of life from St. Paul or St. Cloud.

“On our journey we daily met several wagon loads with merchandise, some of which went to

the stations along the river and some to Hudson Bay. We spoke to several of the drivers who told us that they were five hundred miles from St. Cloud to their homes and that they generally traveled twenty to twenty-five miles each day. The trip back and forth required fifty days. The merchandise which they transported came from New York via St. Paul to St. Cloud and from there it was conveyed by aid of horses or oxen to Red river. For one barrel of flour is paid \$10 in freight and a wagon load usually consists of nine barrels. The distance from Georgetown to Fort Garry, which is located seventy miles from the Minnesota line, is nearly two hundred miles. The drivers told us that the land along that whole region was of the same nature as the prairies of Georgetown except that it was usually better supplied with woods. As all the persons that we met on the road and at Georgetown agreed that the land north of Georgetown was fully as good as the land south thereof, we decided to go no further. We had already seen excellent land for several thousand of farmers and for the present that ought to be sufficient in this direction Concerning the question of making settlements, it is not only my opinion but the opinion of everybody who has seen this region, that it offers so many opportunities, especially for the Scandinavian farmers, that it

must be taken for granted that immigration will pour in within the first years to come; that the whole tract of land within ten years will be settled and cultivated, and that it then will be one of the most beautiful and wealthiest regions in America. The soil is excessively fertile and unusually easy to cultivate, as there is not as much as a stone or a stump to obstruct the plow. There is, however, a sufficient amount of woods along the rivers. The railroads are coming directly through the middle of the whole valley. Steam transportation is already in use from the British Dominions to Georgetown, and will most likely run further within a short time. The sale of farm products will undoubtedly be very advantageous to the forts and to Hudson bay. The water power of the rivers on both sides of the prairie is more than sufficient for all kinds of factories and the climate is remarkably healthy. In the months of May, June, July, and August, the heat is at times almost aggravating, but then there is nearly always a refreshing breeze. In September and October the weather is usually very pleasant and in November the winter starts with about the same temperature as the western part of Norway, and generally continues into the month of March. In the winter the snow is usually two or three feet deep, and lies in a heavy layer across the prairies so that one may

drive or make a road anywhere. The spring work starts late in March or early in April and the harvest commences the last part of July or early in August. On account of my opinion of the country, I cannot but wish that very many of my countrymen, the Scandinavians, would come up here and settle, especially in the region lying between Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown and above all along the rivers on both sides of the prairie. North of Georgetown is a fine locality for those who may chiefly prefer the rearing of cattle If it were possible, as I hope it is, to make a settlement this fall of at least fifty neighbors, such as I prefer, and that would be willing to build churches and schools, I would settle there myself. My traveling companions, Brown and Torgerson, and several other capable men would do the same . . .

“On the return trip I had the pleasure of meeting Governor Marshall of Minnesota, at Fort Abercrombie. He was in company with a large number of gentlemen who, in the interest of railroad matters, were to visit Georgetown and then proceed through the Dakota territory to the Missouri river. I exchanged a few words with him, who was pleased to express that he was glad to meet me so far in the wilderness; to which I answered that I considered it as the most important part of my mission to investi-

gate the regions that are still open for immigration."

On the third of August Hansen and Torger-son started out on the second trip but this time they went only to Fort Abercrombie. The chief reason for his trip was to investigate the prospects for farming and for laborers. He states in his letters that he had never seen "richer and more beautiful wheat, barley, oats, corn and potato fields" than on a farm near Fort Abercrombie. Furthermore, the soil had not been fertilized since the first crops eight years previous. He found oats raised because the sale of this crop was a sure and paying proposition at the forts and furthermore that one crop of oats weighed five pounds more per bushel than oats which was raised in regions farther south.⁶

Hansen thus lauded the possibilities of the Red River valley in Norwegian papers both in Norway and in the United States. Besides this he gave lectures about the opportunities awaiting the Norwegians in the valley. Since there were a large number of people in Norway who had remained at home on account of their ignorance of the true conditions in America, the letters of Hansen were of great significance. This may be one reason why the number of

⁶ The data regarding Hjelm Hansen, his trips and his letters were furnished by Luth Jaeger, Minneapolis, Minn. See also *Norsk Amerikanernes Festskrift*, 59-65.

Norwegian immigrants rose from 11,166 in 1868 to 16,068 the following year. Besides the people from Norway, there were also a very large number of Norwegian laborers and small farmers, chiefly in Wisconsin, Iowa, and the southern Minnesota who were eager to secure more land of their own. From the aid he thus rendered to these people Hansen may justly be considered the discoverer of the Red River valley as a home for Norwegian settlers.

Before Hansen made his trip to the valley in 1869 there were very few who had settled as far northwest as Red river. It is evident, however, that he was not the first of his countrymen to see the valley. In his letter he mentions two of these who had settled near the station of a Catholic French missionary about twenty-five miles north of Fort Abercrombie. The first Norwegian to locate in the valley was undoubtedly Daniel Olson who, with his family, settled in the French half-breed settlement at old St. Joseph near Pembina in 1861.⁷ The first Norwegian buried in the region of the valley was a soldier named Lund, who was originally from Stavanger, Norway. He enlisted as a soldier in the Civil War, but previous to this he had spent some time in Basque county, Texas. He was buried at the Fort Abercrombie cemetery in 1862.⁸ In

⁷ *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*, Chicago, 1900, 66.

⁸ Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1907, 308.

1863, as already referred to, a regiment containing many Scandinavians was stationed at Fort Abercrombie. The Norwegians and Swedes in the regiment were chiefly from Carver county, Minnesota. An important man among them was Rev. Ole Paulson, who was then lieutenant. He is author of the book, *Erindringer*, a work which he finished just before his death at Moorhead. He is well known as the father of Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis. The next Norwegian settler in the valley of which we have any record is N. E. Nelson, customs collector at Pembina in 1869. He was located in Pembina township and was one of the first persons to file on land in North Dakota.⁹ These settlers, namely Daniel Olson and N. E. Nelson, seem to have had little influence in bringing Norwegians into that part of the country. Furthermore, there were no distinct settlements of Norwegians in the county before 1880, when Chas. Severson came there from Bergen, Norway. Two Norwegian settlements have been made in this county, one near St. Thomas, and the other in Park township, west of Hensel, in 1880 and 1881, respectively. The Norwegians in Pembina county, however, are comparatively few. The Scandinavians who immigrated to the Red River valley came from southeast and consequently settled the southern part of the valley first.

⁹ Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 158.

The first Norwegian settler on the Minnesota side of the river in the southern part of the valley was Ole Thompson from Aal, Hallingdal, Norway. He came from St. Ansgar, Iowa, and settled in the southwestern part of Clay county in 1869.¹⁰ He is probably one of the two Norwegian settlers that Hansen mentions in his report to Minnesota. A little later in the same year two more settlers arrived, P. Nokken from Sogn and B. C. Anderson from Hedemarken, Norway. The latter crossed the river and settled at Hickson, northern Dakota, and thus became the first permanent Norwegian settler in Cass county. Some of the settlers who came at about the same time did not remain. Among these was Jens Anderson who now resides at Perley, Minnesota. He filed on land two miles south of the present city of Moorhead in 1869 and was father of the first white child born in Moorhead township. He helped three or four settlers to take their claims in the present Fargo. These first settlers were Ole J. Lee, who settled where Belmont Park is now located, Mikael Herberg, who had his home in Island Park, and Theodore Thorson, who took his claim south of Ole Lee. The first farmer in Cass county was Ole Lee, who harvested his first crop in 1871. The earliest settlers in Fargo came from Fillmore county, Min-

¹⁰ Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 87.

nesota. They were Norwegians but made the costly mistake of selling their rights to Andrew Holes who by that time had apparently obtained advance information as to the coming of the Northern Pacific into that part of Dakota.¹¹

The early immigrants to the Red River valley were inclined to settle the Dakota side first as the land there is somewhat higher and consequently not equally subject to inundation. There were, however, a considerable number who were content with the land on the Minnesota side and thus did not cross the river. Among these who have already been mentioned were Ole Thompson and P. Nokken in Clay county and they were joined by Narve Roen. The first Norwegians to settle in the region of Rollag and Hawley were Martin Olsen and Johannes Tetli, who both came from Winneshiek county, Iowa, in 1870. Tom Gunderson, Claus Olsen, Petrus Solum, Sevrin Solum, Erik Hansen, Tom Herbrandsen and Torsten Arneson, came the same year. The first Norwegian to settle at Stockwood was Martin Thomson from Stavanger who came there in 1870. The coming of the first pioneers into Wilkins county was chiefly an outgrowth of the settlements in Ottertail county.

Norman county was settled by Norwegians in

¹¹ From a personal interview with Bernt C. Anderson, Wild Rice, N. D.; also the *Fargo Forum*, February 22, 1917, and Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 87.

1871. Some of them settled on Marsh river in the neighborhood of Halstad and Shelley in the western part and some in the neighborhood of Twin Valley in the eastern part of the county. The first to settle at Marsh river were Engel Lovsness, N. R. Hage and R. R. Hage. These had all emigrated from the neighborhood of Stavanger in Norway but before coming to Norman they had spent some time at Newburg, Fillmore county, Minnesota. Shortly afterwards there arrived L. L. Hauske, L. B. Larson, and A. Thompson, who were originally from Stavanger, Norway, and A. O. Paulson, Sivert Paulson, Ole Paulson, Ole Halstad, John Grothe, P. A. Paulson, and Paul Olson, from Trondhjem, Norway. A few of these came from Fillmore county, Minnesota, while the rest came from Coon Prairie, Wisconsin. The majority of these were married and brought their wives and children. They made the journey with ox teams, bringing some milch cows also. Martin Ulvestad states that they arrived in Norman county early in the summer of 1871. In October the men had to go to Alexandria, a three weeks trip, to secure flour and other provisions for the winter. Their first crop, raised in 1872, was a complete failure on account of grasshoppers, which not only destroyed the grain and potatoes but also the grass, so there was nothing left for the cattle. The grasshoppers have visited these regions later but

it was only in 1872 that they destroyed everything.

The first settlers in the eastern part of Norman county also arrived in 1871. They were Martin Johnson, who came from Vernon county, Wisconsin, and settled near Twin Valley, Jonas Hommelvig, Peder Hille, Peder Waller, Soren Bergerson, Jens Urdahl, Ole Fordal, Mrs. Enger, and Nicolai Nilsen. The neighborhood of present Perley which constitutes the northwestern part of the county was first settled by Ole Lee, G. J. Krosby, Johan Jacobson, and Andrew Krogstad. Upon their arrival to this county they commenced to raise grain, chiefly wheat, oats and barley, and their market was Alexandria, Minnesota.¹²

On May 19, 1870, Ole Strandvold came from Douglas county, Iowa, and settled near the present station of Trysil in Cass county.¹³ He was born in Trysil, Osterdalen, Norway; he was an able newspaper writer and supported all that had been said by Hjelm Hansen. There is still a distinct Osterdal settlement at this place and some of Strandvold's descendants are at present living on his original claim of 1870. Christian Bye, born at Roraas, Norway, came to Cass county the same spring that Strandvold arrived. He came from Wilmington, in the southeastern

¹² Ulvestad, *Nordmandene i Amerika*, 112.

¹³ *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*, 67.

corner of Minnesota, with his wife, children and property in a wagon drawn by oxen. Ole Hovland accompanied him as far as to Ottertail county, Minnesota, where he remained, while the former continued his journey to the Red river. He crossed the river and settled at Wild Rice, on the Dakota side, not far from Bernt Anderson. In 1870, Ole and Peter Hersgaard came to Cass county with H. Haagenon and Ole Nelson, who were originally from Hallingdal, Norway. Other Norwegian settlers were A. P. Bordrud, B. Trongsrud and Ole Tuskind from Solør, Norway, Ole Herbrandsen from Nummedal, Hans Bjerke and Halvor Olsen from Toten, Henry Clemensen, C. O. Brink, J. Holmen, J. G. Nelson, P. Nelson, and N. Nelson. Their crops were grain, chiefly wheat, and Alexandria and Morris, Minnesota, were the nearest market places. The distance to these towns was from sixty to eighty miles. Many of the Norwegians who immigrated to Minnesota secured work on the steam boat running between Fort Abercrombie and Winnipeg. They were generally paid \$1 or \$1.25 per day for their service.

Concerning the early days in Cass county C. Fredricksen from Horace has written: "I was a child seven years old when my mother went from St. Ansgar, Iowa, to the wilderness of North Dakota. It was in the month of September, 1871. By railroad we could only go as far

as Morris, Minnesota, where our father met us and from where we continued our journey with oxen about 160 miles across the wild prairie. Thus we had come a good ways from civilization, which we had occasion to experience in many ways. We received mail so seldom that the news were often three months old. The mail was carried between Fort Abercrombie and Fort Totten and about ten miles from our settlement there was a station. The postmaster at that place was a half-breed who could not read and for this reason the settlers were allowed to examine all the mail whenever they expected a letter, which they always did. The last to come of course had to be content with what was left. Still I do not believe that they ever accused each other of theft. But one can realize that such a process of handling the mail was unsatisfactory."¹⁴

Einar Hoel was a native of Rennebu, Trondhjem, Norway, and together with Peder Wold, Arnt Skaarvold, and Sivert Dragseth came from Dunn county, Wisconsin, crossed the Red river and settled at Fort Abercrombie, July 18, 1870. From the public and private letters of Ole Strandvold in Cass and Einar Hoel in Richland county, as well as other personal letters to friends and relatives, settlers were induced to

¹⁴ Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 158-59.

come to the southeastern corner of North Dakota in large numbers. Among the settlers who came directly to Richland county may be mentioned, Anders Mo, Hans Myhra, Ole Martinson, Ole Moen, Syver Hoel, Jens Hagen, and Sivert Lievold. Shortly after these had located on their land, other settlers arrived. Among them were Erik Hoel, John Wold, Johan Olson, Gilbert Olsen, Torvald Jacobsen, and Ole Bensen.¹⁵ One reason for so many coming to Richland county was that Fort Abercrombie was the gateway to northern Dakota. Many of the first land seekers crossed the Red river at this point since the soldiers stationed at Fort Abercrombie were ready to protect them in case of attack by the Indians. Some, however, like Anderson and Bye, crossed the river at this time farther north. From this point of influx the pioneers scattered along the river to the south and to the north and later they passed on to the western prairies. That the Norwegians came in large numbers in order to occupy this fertile region is best demonstrated by the fact that in this part of the state they form the largest of the foreign born population. One of these settlers writes: "There were no white people here, no houses, no roads, and in the beginning there was nothing to live from. On the other hand there were a great many

¹⁵ Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 160.

mosquitoes that tormented us, to say nothing about the Indians and many other ill-favored creatures. And if one should cross a river it was necessary to wade or swim as there were no bridges. Our predecessors (Indians) were poor bridge builders." That the valley did not make as favorable an impression upon all the pioneers as upon Hjelm Hansen is seen from a statement by Knut Moaas who visited several parts of the valley in 1871. He writes: "The tract along Red river was not as fascinating as I had expected since there were withered trees and old log pieces far into the prairie land which the river had brought along in the spring when it had overflowed. At that time I thought it would be dangerous to settle near the river on account of inundation."¹⁶

Traill county was first settled by Norwegians in 1871. The first to come were Ole and Torger Thompson, Ole Rust, and Christian and Carl Larsen. These came from Mitchell county, Iowa, and settled in the region of Caledonia by the Red river in 1871. Among the next to arrive may be mentioned H. Klep, K. Rust, A. Arnesen, K. Vinge, H. Hovland, Jens Mikkelsen, O. and E. Floberg, Engebret Larsen, P. Herbrandsen, Knut Rauk, and I. Ingvaldsen. These and many others who came about the same time raised

¹⁶ Knut Steenerson Moas, Upham, N. D., in the *Normanden*, October 5, 1915.

wheat and barley. There was, however, practically no market for the small amount of grain that they could raise. Martin Ulvestad states that these Norwegians at first had to bring their farm products by oxen and wagon transportation to Alexandria, Minnesota, nearly 200 miles away. But this lasted only a very short time since they soon secured a nearer market in Fargo. A characteristic experience of one of the early settlers is the following:

“Let me tell you something about Knut Olsen Rauk, one of the old settlers here, who is now dead. He was one of the first emigrants from Hallingdal (Norway). In 1844 he left Christiania in a sailing vessel, which first went to Havre, France, where it remained for six weeks and where they devoured nearly all the food for the journey. As they had nothing to purchase food with they proceeded on the ocean with what little there was left. The ship in the meantime left its course and after having drifted about for eight weeks they returned to Havre. Here they received aid and again they proceeded toward America. The trip lasted nine months. By that time they were more like skeletons than living beings. The journey continued on the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes, which also took a long time, as the boats in those days were by no means fast travelers and furthermore, one can not say that the emigrants were comfortably

situated. But they finally arrived in Milwaukee and from thence they proceeded by oxen and log cart to Koshkonong, where Rauk met some of his countrymen and where he settled for the time being. Here also the joy had a sudden end, as a new company of emigrants came, and with them came the cholera. A Halling boy thus came to Rauk's home and died there. Rauk, who was away working, had to go home to bury him, which was no easy task since all were afraid of the contagion. The people were so frightened that they refused to give Rauk any work. Consequently it became difficult for him and his family. After a long time, however, he secured employment at a plow factory. He was blacksmith from Norway, but his salary was only \$7 per month, which was insufficient for family support. Then he commenced to make plows of his own. As he was unacquainted with the American patent law, he made his plows like those of the factory. He had scarcely parted with a dozen of them before a sympathetic neighbor notified him that they were seeking to arrest him. This was in the evening. Knut and his friend were not helpless, however. All the plows that he had sold were gathered during the night, a small change was made to them and they were returned to the customers. Now they could do nothing to him since his and the patented plows were not just alike. Later he went

to St. Ansgar, Mitchell county, Iowa, and from there to Belmont, Dakota."¹⁷

THE SETTLEMENT OF NORWEGIANS IN GRAND FORKS COUNTY

Altho there are some Norwegians in nearly every part of the county, there are especially four places or groups of Norwegians, where they own nearly every quarter of land in a considerable area. The first group comprises Walle, Bentrü and parts of Brenna and Americus townships in the southeastern part of the county. The second group comprises mainly Loretta, Lind, Northwood and parts of Grace, Avon, Pleasant View and Washington, all in the southwestern part. The third group, along the western part, is more scattered and is consequently not easily designated by townships. The fourth group comprises parts of six townships with the town of Mekinock as its center.

The Norwegians began to settle Grand Forks county in 1872 and were thus among the earliest pioneers. The first settlers located along Red river in the southeastern part of the county, which later became the townships of Walle, Bentrü and Americus. In 1872 Knut Rud, a single man, from Hallingdal, Norway, made his home in the northeastern part of Walle, about 7 miles south of Grand Forks.¹⁸

Rud did not remain here long, after ten years he went farther east to live with some relatives on account of his

¹⁷ From a letter written by T. H. Thompson to Ulvestad, *Nord-mændene i Amerika*, 174-175.

¹⁸ Here he cultivated a fine garden and these products, together with fish from Red river, which at that time were plentiful, furnished his food. Three years later when settlers located close by, he furnished them fish and in return for that he usually received butter.

poor health. Halvor Bentrø and Halvor Hanson, both from Hallingdal, Norway, came with families to Bentrø township in 1872. Ole Dokken and Sven Quammen, both with families, came to this neighborhood about the same time. In 1873 Aslak Tarkelson, Knut Jørgenson and Gunstein Svenkeson came from Fillmore county, Minnesota, and settled in the southern part of Walle, the two former bringing their families.¹⁹

Early in the spring of 1874 Tollef and John Loyland from Fillmore county, Minnesota, made a trip to northern Dakota to seek land. They went by railroad to Breckenridge, Minnesota, and walked from there to Grand Forks county. Since the land here was beyond expectation they decided to make it their future home. Later in the same year the Loyland families moved to Walle township, using wagons drawn by oxen. The group consisted of Tollef and Ole Loyland and their children, John, A. N. L., Tarje, and Inger Loyland, and the parents Mr. and Mrs. Nils Oleson Loyland.²⁰ Two years later another brother, Ole Loyland, Sr., came with his family from Sætersdalen, Norway, together with T. F. Loyland, and made his home among them. Four of the Loyland brothers and their father immediately took a quarter section of land each and started to cultivate it. The first summer they broke about five acres each and their first crop of wheat which they harvested in 1875 was good. During the summer the

¹⁹ This data was furnished by Mr. and Mrs. Halvor Thoreson, concerning those who settled in Walle township, and by Christian Pederson, for those in Bentrø.

²⁰ A younger brother, Halvor, attended high school and colleges in this country. He was selected as teacher in Scandinavian and German languages at the recently founded university at Grand Forks. To perfect his knowledge in these languages he attended universities in Norway and Germany. After his return and before entering upon his duties he was unfortunately struck by lightning and killed.

grasshoppers came in thick swarms and the settlers believed that the crops would be destroyed but apparently they did not remain long enough to damage the grain. The grasshoppers appeared in later years but in this county they have never been destructive.²¹

In 1875 Arne Fladeland, Ole Kjørvestad, Ole Veflen, A. T. Omli and Lars Vik, came with families from Fillmore county, Minnesota. Ole Upsahl from Ottertail county, Minnesota, with his family and Ole Sorbo from Goodhue county, settled in 1876. The same year Knut Kvasager and Halvor Sannes, both with their families, Kjetil and Bjug Myrum with their parents and three sisters, and Aanund Johnson and Edward Hanson with their families, all from Fillmore county, settled in the township of Walle.²²

In 1877 a company consisting of Halvor Thorson, Gullick Thompson and Thor Viken, and their families, and Sigbjorn Kittelson, came here from Fillmore county. Together with them came Swen Omli, a widower with three boys, but he went farther west and settled near Goose river. Gullick Thompson had a team of horses while the others had oxen. They left Fillmore county the first part of May, and arrived in June. Two years previous to this Halvor Thorson borrowed \$60 in Norway to enable him to come to America.²³ Upon their arrival Thorson and a neighbor, Halvor Torjuson, who also had a yoke of oxen, worked together while breaking the required five acres during the first summer. Halvor Thorson and family lived with Kjetil

²¹ From an interview with A. N. Loyland, Thompson, N. D.

²² Statement by William Bundy and Mr. and Mrs. Halvor Thorson, Grand Forks, N. D.

²³ In Minnesota he earned sufficient money to pay his debt, to buy a wagon, stove, a cow and two young oxen. This constituted his property when he left for Grand Forks county with his wife and young son. The oxen were not trained and he had to lead them a great part of the trip but by the time he reached his destination they were trained, and ready for work.

Myrum, a single man who had previously erected a small cottage. The following spring Thorson secured logs and built a house on his land. When these pioneers filed their claims to land in 1877 there was unsettled land in Grand Forks township and also where part of Grand Forks city is now located, but they preferred Walle since the land there was higher.²⁴

During the same year the Sannes brothers and their parents came here from Minnesota. The parents, Mr. and Mrs. Aanund Olsen Sannes, had emigrated from Sætersdalen, Norway, in 1853 to Illinois and began farming close by Chicago. Six years later they moved to Goodhue county, Minnesota, but after a short stay there they went to Grand county of the same state. Here they lived until 1877 when they moved to Dakota. During this period they witnessed many crop failures on account of hail and grasshoppers and for this reason the boys were obliged to support themselves. John Sannes, the fifth son, was employed by cattle buyers of Alexandria, Minnesota. The cattle that they bought were driven to Fort Garry, about 200 in each drove, and sold there. On their return trip the drivers went thru a part of Saskatchewan and into Montana, where they bought horses which they brought back and sold in Ottertail and Douglas counties, Minnesota. During five years John Sannes worked for three companies and made several trips to Canada. On his last trip he went by steamboat from Ft. Garry to Ft. Abercrombie. When John Sannes told his parents about the fertile land of the Red River Valley they decided to move there and in 1877 they came to this county. Aanund Sannes had a family

²⁴ Besides those mentioned, William Bundy, Bjorgo Hofto, Knut Harstad, Ole Moe and Tarje Drengsen, the last two with their families, came to Walle from Fillmore county in 1877.

From an interview with William Bundy and Halvor Thorson.

of 13 children, of which the eight youngest came to Dakota. Three of them, John, Tor, and Daniel, filed on land about five miles east of the present station of Thompson. After having broken a few acres and put up some hay, they walked to the Grandin farm about 50 miles away where they worked during harvest and threshing at a dollar per day. In the fall after having earned \$63 each, they returned in time to put up sod stables for the winter.²⁵

In 1878 Marius Anderson came with his wife and two children. He drove oxen from Fillmore county, and settled in Americus township. By that time the land joining the river was fairly well settled and the immigrants were obliged to settle a few miles further west. In 1868 Salemon Larson with family emigrated from Sætersdalen, Norway, and settled in Fillmore county. Two years later they moved to Ottertail county where they farmed until they came to Walle in 1878. They came with ten oxen and many head of cattle and among other property they had a McCormick self-raker for wheatcutting, a machine which at that time was rare among the settlers. The three brothers, Lars, Gunder, Sr., and Gunder, Jr., Salemonson, filed claims to land. The following year Dreng Røisland, Kjetil Røinestad and Ole Trøidal, all with families, made the journey with ox teams from Fillmore county to Walle. This year, 1879, H. A. Fladeland came with his wife and child from Fillmore county and settled in the township of Americus. He had to secure land about 5 miles from the river and besides he traded a team of horses for it. The railroad at that time extended only to Fisher, Minnesota, and to this place the farmers generally brot their grain. Some of the

²⁵ From Grand county they brought along a team of horses, eight oxen, about 20 head of cattle, three wagons, two plows, a mower and a hayrake. Their first house consisted of a dugout in the ground with a dirt roof. Data furnished by John Sannes, Grand Forks, N. D.

grain, however, was brot to Grand Forks where a mill had been built in 1877.²⁶

Among the earliest pioneers of Bentru township, besides those already mentioned, were Knut Hofto and Edward Hanson, originally from Ullensaker, Norway, and Knut Hegland from Såttersdalen. The two latter came with families from Fillmore County. George Gunderson, originally from Drammen, Norway, Even Tofsli and Ole Tofsli, all with families came from Fillmore county in 1878.²⁷

Christian, P. C., and August Pederson, three brothers, originlly from Odalen, Norway, drove horses from Rock county, Wis. to Dakota in 1878. Since the land along the river was taken they filed in Americus township. The first three years they hauled their grain to Fisher, Minnesota. When convenient they brot it across the Red river in a ferry boat but very often they waited till the river was frozen. Many also sold wheat to H. Tharaldson, who at that time ran a general store and also bought grain in Grand Forks.²⁸

In 1874-76, while several settled in Walle and Bentru, the landseekers also began to locate in Northwood and surrounding townships, along the upper part of Goose river. By this time many Norwegians were located along that river in Steele and Traill counties and these had commenced so settle there as early as 1871 and 1872. The settlements

²⁶ From a statement by Gunder Salemonsens, Jr., and Marius Anderson.

²⁷ The same year Arne and Amund Erickson, both with families, came from Richland county, N. D. Herbjorn Alfson, with wife and children came in 1878. He and two sons, John and Hans, filed claims to land in Bentru township. Ole Sollum, Peter Bye, Ole Loing, John Sanvik and Swen Myhre came the same year and all of them except Myhre brought their families.

²⁸ The great majority of settlers mentioned in this account as having come from Wisconsin, Iowa and parts of Minnesota, had originally immigrated from Norway and had only stopped temporarily in the above mentioned states. Data furnished by Christian Pederson, of Bentru township.

on this river were extended up the stream and within the present boundary of Grand Forks county. For this reason we find that Northwood township contained settlers several years before the interior part of this county, including the area bisected either by Turtle or Forest rivers. Those who made these upper settlements on the Goose were chiefly Norwegians and many of them had emigrated from Iowa.

The first pioneers of Northwood township were eight Norwegian families who came from the region surrounding Northwood, Iowa. They made the trip to this county by ox teams and settled near the present town of Northwood, which received its name in remembrance of their home town. The names of the heads of the families were: Ole Trageton, Halvor Solem, Iver Søndreaal, Paul Søndreaal, Thomas Raaen, and Lars Mork, all from Hol, Hallingdal, Norway, Nils Korsmo from Solør, and Halvor Berg from Valdres, Norway. Ole Trageton built the first log house there near the river about three and one half miles south of the present town of Northwood. Thomas, son of Paul and Helga Søndreaal, was the first white child born on the upper part of Goose river. Halvor Berg settled somewhat farther south. The town of Newburg, a point in Steele county, eight miles south of Northwood was named in his honor. In 1872 a mail route was established between Caledonia and Newburg, at the latter place Halvor Berg was the first postmaster and merchant.²⁹

In 1874 Knut Paulson and Anders Bakken, originally from Hallingdal, Norway, came with their families from Northwood, Iowa. The following year Paul C. Johnson, also a native from Hallingdal, came with his family from Freeborn county, Minn. In 1876 Anders Sherva, Peder, Hans and Iver Thingelstad arrived from Clayton county,

²⁹ From material furnished by H. Thingelstad, Northwood, N. D. See also Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 165.

Iowa. Hans Thingelstad and Anders Sherva drove the whole distance, a trip which required about six weeks. They brot along horses, oxen and several head of cattle.³⁰

In 1877, Mr. and Mrs. Gudbrand Tandberg came from Elgin, Iowa, with their children Nels, Andrew, Math, and Gust.

At this time also Ole Sagen and Ole Hagen and their families came from Iowa.³¹

As already mentioned, the Norwegians who settled Northwood, Lind and Loretta townships came chiefly from Iowa and Minnesota.³²

Some emigrated directly from Norway but these were comparatively few in number. Originally they were mainly from Hallingdal, Hadeland, Solør and Trondhjem, Norway. A great number of these came with their families while

³⁰ Among other pioneers of this neighborhood may be mentioned Bernt Thingelstad, Ole Haraldsen, Ole Onsager, Anton Gilbertsen, Ole Tronsgard, August Rosset, Martin Grefsheim, Ole Grønli, P. O. Mandt, P. N. Watterud, Jens Bergsrud, Ole Brundsdaal, Knut Gaasetjon, Ole M. Kleven, Ole Mandt, Ole Ellingson Nyhus, Erik Vange, Narve Narveson, Nils Bentestuen, Nick Eddie, Ole Sandvik, O. T. Jossendal, C. J. Ovind, and Lars Thorson.

³¹ The next to arrive were Gudmund Haga, Lars Haga, Fredrick Olson, Ole and Jacob Brorby, Ole Carls, Hans and Halvor Hovland, and Fredrick and Christian Sherva. Other pioneers of Northwood township were Iver Bjornson, M. O. Grina, Peter Hanson, A. J. Haga, Andrew Wickne, Siver Halverson, Martin Johnson, Thomas Leine, Andrew and Peter Winden, Thor Sand, T. E. Tufte and John and Henry Nokkelby.

From Nils Tandberg, Northwood, N. D. See also Ulvestad, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 167.

³² The first settlers in Loretta township were P. F. Pederson, Walter Christen, Paul and Jacob Bilden, H. P., Peder and Peter Fuglem, Sivert Draxton, Thomas Engen, John and Iver Rønning, Peder Skurdahl, Ole Amundson, Ellef Bakke, Ole Bentli, P. A. Woken and Paul Fladager. The pioneers of Lind township were G. T. Bentli, Lars Søffjord, J. A. Stamnes, C. H. Bakken, Torsten Kjos, Andreas, Christ and William Olson, Herbrand Brandsen, Ole and Peter Eidem, Alexander Erickson, Erick Evenson, Ellef Herleikson, Nils Halvorson, Nils Johnson, A. J. Kjørven, Albert Lowe, T. H. Maurseth, Torval Rud, H. H. Reah, E. O. Thorsgaard, John Sime and T. A. Ulberg.

some had sons old enough to secure land in their own right. Upon their arrival some of the settlers built their cabins of logs or with sod while others made dugouts in the ground. The stables were frequently built of sod. The first summer each settler broke only a small amount of land, usually about five acres on each quarter section. They began to raise some wheat in 1875 and 1876, and what they could spare after having made allowance for seed and flour they hauled to Fargo.³³ The grain was threshed by horse power machines. The trip to Fargo required about seven days, six of which were spent on the road, but if they undertook the journey during winter, which they seldom did, it often required ten days. Late in the fall some neighbors usually clubbed together, went to Fargo and bought enough supplies to last until spring. A supply station, nearer at hand, was Caledonia, in Traill county on the Red river near the mouth of the Goose. About 1876 a steam flour mill was built here, to which the settlers resorted for flour and feed. During these years not much grain was brot to Grand Forks from the southwestern part of the county on account of the wide stretch of intervening prairie without roads.

The first settlers along the upper part of the Goose river were squatters as the land was not opened for filing before 1878, even tho the township lines in this part of the country had been laid out by 1876. As early as 1870 and 1871 a number of townships near the Red river were surveyed by Moses K. Armstrong, while those in the central and western parts of the county were surveyed later,

³³ The early settlers not only preserved seed for themselves but also for their less fortunate neighbors who had no seed nor anything to buy it with. To these they would either sell seed on time or lend it to them. Those who lent and sold in this way seldom if ever lost anything as the poor settlers paid their debt as soon as possible.

By 1876 all the townships of Grand Forks county, as now bounded, had been laid out and Northwood township was subdivided in 1877 and the land was opened to receive filing in the spring of 1878.³⁴ At this time several of the settlers availed themselves of their opportunity of taking two quarter sections, which included a preemption or tree claim and the homestead. On the other hand many filed on one quarter section only as it was difficult to secure the necessary \$200 for rendering proof to the land taken, besides the homestead, while others again thought that 160 acres was sufficient.

The Norwegians began to settle the upper Turtle river and Bachelors Grove, in the western part of the county, in 1878. Bachelors Grove is located in Agnes and Plymouth townships, the eastern half being in the Elk valley.³⁵

More Norwegians came and settled the territory which now comprises parts of the townships of Plymouth, Agnes and Elm Grove. Altho the Norwegians in these townships hold many sections of land they are more scattered than those in the southeastern or southwestern part of the county.

One of the first to locate in Agnes township was Peter Peterson, who came here from Mitchell county, Iowa, in 1878. Hans Dahl, born in Lunde, Telemarken, Norway,

³⁴ Arnold, *History of Grand Forks county, Larimore*, 1900, 98-99.

³⁵ Bachelor's Grove is said to have received its name from the following circumstance. In 1878 a small number of unmarried Norwegians were on their way westward to seek land and they were told that there was a fertile region somewhere between Grand Forks and Mouse river named Elk valley. Since they wanted to locate as good homesteads as possible they determined to find the place. When the bachelors came to the grove which now bears their name they agreed that the land there was as good as could be desired and made it their home. After they had settled there they discovered that they were located in the valley they had sought.

Statement by Rev. O. H. Aaberg, Parkland, Wash., who organized Elk Valley Norwegian Lutheran congregation in the fall of 1881.

came to Minnesota in 1871 and remained there until 1880, when he settled near Peter Peterson. Iver Gunderson, from Valdres, Norway, emigrated in 1864 and located in this neighborhood in 1880. Hans Hanson, born in Freeborn county, Minnesota, came here the same year. Hover Hoverson with his parents emigrated from Valdres, Norway, in 1866 and they settled first in Manitowoc county, Wisconsin, but later moved to Ridgeway, Iowa, and in 1880 came to Grand Forks county. Christian Hoverson, born in Manitowoc county, came here at the same time. Theodore Pederson, originally from Mitchell county, Iowa, located here in 1880.³⁶

Martin Aarnes emigrated from Grue, Solør, Norway, in 1880, and the following year he located in Agnes township. Ole Aabakken from Vaage, Gudbrandsdalen, Norway, came to America in 1879, and to this county in 1881. Benjamin Christenson emigrated from Gildeskaals Prestegjeld, Norway, in 1880, and arrived here the following year. Nils Ellertson with his parents settled at Koshkonong, Wisconsin, in 1843 and later they moved to Fillmore county, Minnesota, where Nils remained until 1881, when he located near Elk valley. Elling Ellertson, born in Dane county, Wisconsin, moved to Fillmore county in 1851 and came here in 1881. Christian Engh, from Lillehammer, Norway, emigrated in 1879 and settled here in 1881, as did also Ole Fagstad, from the same place. Louis Kylo came from Stjørdalen, Norway, in 1870 and located in Goodhue county, Minnesota, and in the spring of 1881 he came with his family and settled in Elm Grove township. John Madson emigrated from Vang, Valdres, Norway, in 1869, and came to this county in 1881. Anton and Amund Rustebakke from Aurdal, Valdres, Norway, located in Black Earth,

³⁶ *Nogle Mindeblade i Anledning Elk Valley Menigheds 25de Aarsfest*, pp. 10-15.

Wisconsin, with their parents in 1866, and in 1881 the two men settled in Agnes township. Peder Hendrickson emigrated from Hallingdal, Norway, in 1870 and settled here in 1882. In 1873 Ole Lien and family emigrated from Frosten, Trondhjems Stift, Norway, and settled at Hesper, Iowa, and brought his family to this county in 1882.³⁷

In 1880 Ole Thoe came here from Dodge county, Minnesota. He arrived at Grand Forks in April with ten cents in cash and walked out to the residence of an old Minnesota neighbor seven miles from Grand Forks where he was soon employed building log houses and doing farm work. In the spring of 1881 he erected a small shanty for himself and his wife on a quarter section of land that he had secured in Inkster township. This shanty was replaced the same year by a substantial loghouse which was but partially completed by the arrival of winter. At this time their nearest market was Larimore. In 1866 Peder Aafedt emigrated from Bergens Stift, Norway, and located in Winneshiak county, Iowa, where he was employed at farm-work for three years. He then moved to Dickinson county of the same state and in 1881 came to Dakota, bringing with him twenty-five head of cattle and three horses. After a two days stop at Minto he proceeded to Forest river and located between the north and south forks of that stream.³⁸

The first settlers to locate in the neighborhood of the present town of Mekinock were Syvert Nygaard, Halvor Haugen, Lars Olsen, Herbrand Jeglum, Tollef Dokken, Swen Larson, and Ole Moen, who came with their families from Blooming Prairie, Minnesota, in 1877. At the same

³⁷ *Nogle Mindeblade i Anledning Elk Valley Menigheds 25de Aarsfest*, pp. 10-15.

³⁸ *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*, p. 1113.

time there arrived Thor Hendrickson, Ole Dock, Bernt Iversen, T. E. Neste, P. P. Hamre, Ole Venaas, Hans Udenby, Jorgen Hallick, Peder Liberg, Torvald Liberg and Lars Quanrud.³⁹

One of the pioneers of Gilby township was Peter Reiton, who came with family from St. Croix county, Wisconsin, in 1879. Upon his arrival he filed on a homestead and also a tree claim adjoining the present town of Gilby. Knud Larson emigrated from Norway in 1879 and located in Fillmore county where he remained one year and came to this county in 1880 and took up a homestead. In 1860 Charles J. Foss, together with his parents, emigrated from Norway and settled in Nicollet county, Minnesota, but twenty years later he located in Gilby where he filed on a claim in May of the same year. Ole Haugen came from Norway in 1878 and located in Goodhue county, Minnesota, and after two years residence there he moved to this county in the spring of 1880, filing on a quarter section of land. Bernt Omang, a native of Norway, came to this country in 1874 and located in Fillmore county. After having resided there for six years he came to North Dakota with his family in April, 1880, and settled in Gilby township. In 1848 the parents of Andrew Redwing emigrated from Norway and settled in Winneshiek county, Iowa, where Andrew was born. From there they went to Fillmore county, Minnesota. In 1879 Andrew Redwing came to Fargo and after working there two years took a homestead in Gilby township.⁴⁰

In 1874 Henry Johnson (Heen) emigrated from Norway

³⁹ Osten Sanden, Knut Bakkedahl, Peder Swenson, Peder Faken, Guttorm Burtness, Knut Burtness, Ellev Burtness, Ole Pederson, Iver Hensrud, Helge Moen, Rasmus Rasmussen Rice, Guttorm Sanden, John Sanden, Hermo Halvorson, H. Blackstad, Esten Sanden, Ole Sanden settled near Turtle River in 1877 and 1878. Most of these came with their families from Blooming Prairie, Minnesota.

Statement by A. O. Muri and J. O. Overland, Mekinock, N. D.

⁴⁰ *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*, p. 1180.

and located in Rice county, Minnesota. As early as 1878 he came to this county and filed on a homestead in Lakeville township. Martin Rood came from Norway in 1868 and settled in Mitchell county, Iowa, and from there the family came to this county in 1878 and entered claim to land in Ferry township. A son, Martin Rood, Jr., came here with his family in 1882 and filed on land in the same township. Ole Iverson, a native of Steele county, Minnesota, came to the northwestern part of this county in 1877 and the same year he secured a quarter section of land in Turtle River township. One of the first settlers of Brenna township was Orjans Brenna in whose honor the township is named. His father emigrated from Norway in 1873 and settled in Minnesota, where he remained for five years, when he settled in this county. Orjans Brenna left Norway in 1876 and after a two years stay in Minnesota came to Dakota territory and secured land here. A brother, Ole Brenna, settled here about the same time as Orjans. Amund A. Boe, a native of Norway, came to Wisconsin in 1868, and later moved to Goodhue county, Minnesota. Here he remained until 1878, when he settled in the township of Brenna.⁴¹ During the late seventies and early eighties, many settlers came from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Norway, and settled mainly in what is now the townships of Gilby, Mekinock, Lakeville, Blooming, and Brenna.

GRAND FORKS CITY

The building of the city of Grand Forks commenced in 1871 when Alexander Griggs, George H. Walsh and M. L. McCormack established a general store here.⁴² A saw mill

⁴¹ *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*, p. 1007.

⁴² The data for the Norwegian settlement in Grand Forks city is taken from biographies from *Normanden*, and especially from a pamphlet put out by that paper entitled *Normanden's Supplement* for the 17th of May, 1896, and a similar one for the same date in 1906.

was also built at this time. In 1872 Norman W. Kittson of the Hudson Bay Company established a boat yard at Grand Forks and built a number of steamboats and barges. The following year the Hudson Bay Company established its headquarters here for the upper Red River valley and built a store and the Northwestern hotel. On the 26th of October, 1875, Captain Griggs filed a plat of the original townsite of Grand Forks, covering ninety acres of his homestead and in the following spring Frank Viets filed the plat of the first addition. In 1877 a flour mill, a fifty barrel plant, was built by Frank Viets. The village was organized in 1878 with George H. Walsh as president, R. W. Cutts, clerk, and W. H. Brown, John McRae, Wm. Budge and Frank Viets as trustees.⁴³

The first Norwegian to come to this village was Halvor Tharaldson from Langhei, Sætersdalen, Norway. Together with his parents he settled in Fillmore county, Minnesota, in 1871, and in 1874 he came to Grand Forks and secured land two miles from the village. About the same time his brother Osmund arrived and the brothers built the first Norwegian store in town, the firm being called O. and H. Tharaldson. A little later Halvor bought Osmund's share and in 1877 another brother, Eivind, formed a partnership with Halvor and the firm was known as H. and E. Tharaldson. During the early period the Tharaldson brothers were dealers in general merchandise, dry goods, machinery, grain, etc., and their main store was located on the present third street.

During the following three years several Norwegians came to the village. Among these may be mentioned Thomas Monson, in 1878, P. J. Bye, Henry Langord, A. J. Hilden and A. Abrahamsen in 1879. A Abrahamsen left

⁴³ Dudely, *Grand Forks Illustrated*, Grand Forks, N. D., 1897, pp. 7-8.

Norway together with his father and located in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, but later they moved to Racine county. In 1879 Abrahamsen went to northern Dakota and entered a claim to land in Traill county. In June of the same year he went to Grand Forks and purchased a stock of merchandise and was soon conducting a successful business. L. K. Hassell came here from Norway in 1881, and was for a few months employed in the office of Major Hamilton. In the fall of 1881 he became editor of the *Grand Forks Tidende*, a Norwegian newspaper published here. John Stampen emigrated from Gudbrandsdalen, Norway, in 1869, and located in Chicago, where he remained for one year and a half. He then went to Madison, Wisconsin, where he attended a business college and later clerked in a store. In 1875 Governor Ludington appointed him assistant in the State Historical Society. In 1877 he resigned this office and became superintendent of the store where he had formerly been employed and in 1882 he came to Grand Forks, where he organized the firm known as Stampen and Roethe.

The Haugen brothers started a general merchandise store here in 1880.

The first Norwegian lawyers in Grand Forks were Anthony C. Hurst, 1879, and T. J. Fladeland, 1880. Langord and Lien built a planing establishment in 1883 and H. N. Eddie had a store where Granrud's drug store was later located. In 1861 Col. A. Knudson emigrated from Lyster Prestegjæld, Sogn, Norway. The following year he joined the 20th Wisconsin regiment and took part in eight battles, being wounded in the first. Immediately after the close of war he opened a hotel in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, and in 1869 he moved to Faribault, Minnesota, where he ran a hotel. In 1882 he came to Grand Forks and opened the Knudson

House, and later he bought the Arlington Park Hotel of which he continued as proprietor till his death in 1919.

Geo. Wilson and A. Magnuson came from LaCrosse, Wisconsin, and started a general store in the early eighties. Major Wilson of the 15th Wis. Volunteer Infantry succeeded to the command of this Scandinavian regiment after the battle of Chickamauga, where the commander, Col. Hegg, fell.

M. H. Solberg came from Valdres, Norway, in 1881. Having had several years experience in his native country, he began work in Pederson's tailor shop upon his arrival in Grand Forks. Later he was employed at the tailor store of St. Clair and Berg, and is remembered as one of the first Norwegian tailors in town. Anton Berg was born near Sandefjord, Norway, in 1866 and when 14 years old he was apprenticed to a tailor. In 1883 he emigrated and located in Minneapolis, where he worked two years at his trade. He then came to Grand Forks and shortly afterwards, together with St. Clair, bought Pederson's tailor-shop and thus established the firm known as St. Clair and Berg.

A pioneer among the business men of Grand Forks is B. O. Paulsness, who came here in 1883. He is a native of Meraker, Norway, and emigrated in 1880. Upon his arrival here he immediately began work as a plumber.

Among other early Norwegian pioneers, prominent in business circles in this city may be mentioned L. H. Sannes, M. L. Gordon, A. M. Lodmell, Lewis Thompson, A. P. Holand, John Bridston, Ole Granrud, J. A. Sorley, Ingv. A. Berg, Thomas Ulven of the Christiania hotel, M. T. Wold. S. G. Ellingson, a graduate of the School of Pharmacy of the State University of Indiana, O. T. Ellestad, N. L. Bendickson, P. H. Baukal, C. H. Opsahl, Peter Weberg and E. Arneson.

The earliest Norwegian physicians in Grand Forks were Dr. M. Lossius and Dr. P. Thoen, both from Norway. Another early Norwegian physician of Grand Forks is Dr. J. E. Engstad, who came here in 1885. In 1891 he erected the St. Lukes hospital, later a part of the Deaconess hospital. A little later came Dr. Olav B. Brekke, dentist, and Dr. A. Ekern, who both continued to practice in this town for many years. As already stated the migration of Norwegians to Grand Forks began in 1874 when H. Tharaldson secured land close to the town and sold machinery. Tharaldson sold the first binder on the Dakota side of the Valley in 1878 for \$325, and 200 people were gathered to see the new machine operate. The immigration continued to increase and in 1896 there were, according to a statement by *Normanden*, about 2,500 Norwegian people in the city of Grand Forks.

MISCELLANEOUS INSTITUTIONS IN GRAND FORKS COUNTY

GRAND FORKS COLLEGE

Grand Forks College was erected by the Red River Valley Lutheran Association in 1891.⁴³ This association consisted of persons who were members of Norwegian Lutheran congregations of the Red River Valley. The school was opened in the fall of 1891 with Professor H. Roalkvam as principal and Professor R. S. Knudson as treasurer. According to a report by the latter, July 8, 1893, the total value of the school property was then about \$35,000.

The school had a fair attendance for its kind as 201 students had enrolled during the academic year of 1892-93.

⁴³ The main building of the school consisted of a brick structure which contains three stories and a basement. It is located on a campus of six acres about one mile south of the business center of Grand Forks city.

Of these one hundred forty were from North Dakota and sixty from Minnesota. In the summer of 1893, at the close of the second school year there were six graduates.⁴⁴

On account of the poor crops among many of the farmers of North Dakota and western Minnesota in the early nineties, the members of the association failed to subscribe to the paying of the college debt. Furthermore, many subscribers were unable to pay their subscriptions.

By the 25th of January, 1894, \$3375.62 had been sent to the school from various societies and from private subscriptions, but the debt was too pressing and the school was discontinued in 1894, for the time being, as a Lutheran institution.⁴⁵

Altho the members of the Lutheran congregations of the Valley had lost possession of their college they still had hopes of regaining ownership. Immediately after the last property was sold in May, 1894, professor John Tandberg suggested that about thirty congregations should form a corporation and that these congregations should choose one member each, who should form a board of trustees. Each congregation was, furthermore, supposed

⁴⁴ They were Carl Anderson, Grafton, Ed. Lorensen, Grand Forks, Harold Pederson, and Svein Rudser of Nelson county, from the Commercial Department, N. C. Wagner, Hatton, from the Normal and John Walstad, Grafton, from the Academic Department. The teachers for the school year of 1893-94, were Rev. Th. Eggen, A. B., principal and professor of Norwegian and religion, John Tandberg, A. B., head of the Normal department, Rev. Edward Loe, B. A., instructor in English, N. Flaten, instructor in Latin and Greek, R. S. Knutson, head of the Commercial department and Miss Mary Finseth, instructor in music.

⁴⁵ In 1893 the building and grounds were sold on account of one mortgage and the next year all other property was sold on account of another. In 1894 the creditors rented the school to a private company from Crookston, Minn., known as the Strawbridge College Company. The courses offered during their possession of the school were Academic, Normal, Commercial, Elocution, Physical Culture and Music, and this company continued these courses under the title of Grand Forks College.

to donate \$500 in cash as a sum for which to purchase the school.

At a local conference held in Portland, N. D., April 7, 1899, Prof. John Tingelstad, who had previously learnt that the school was for sale, moved that members of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran synod should secure the property. At this conference it was decided to call another meeting April 26, at Crookston, Minn., at which time the presence of more ministers of the synod was expected. At the latter meeting a committee was chosen which was authorized to buy the school and the result of the work of this committee was that Prof. John Tingelstad bought it at the very low price of \$9000. A corporation was formed and the men chosen as officers were: Rev. J. Rorvik, president, Rev. J. R. Vaaler, vice-president, Rev. Kr. Hovde, secretary and E. Evanson, treasurer.⁴⁶

Under this management Grand Forks College was dedicated on the 14th of October, 1900, by Prof. Laur. Larson, and the school was opened shortly after with Prof. K. A. Kasberg serving as principal. At the opening of the school there were only 40 students present, but during the fall term many more arrived. In 1901-2 186 students enrolled during the winter term, and by the middle of the next school year 215 had enrolled.

In the fall of 1901 Rev. A. E. Lien was engaged for one year as solicitor for the school. At a meeting of the corporation on the 24th of February, 1903, he made an encouraging report and stated that he had found great interest among the people for the continuance of the school.

The main courses offered by the school were a prepar-

⁴⁶ O. A. Thorson and K. Opheim were elected auditors. The members of the board of trustees were: Rev. B. J. Larson, T. S. Reishus, Rev. J. G. Monson, Rev. A. E. Lien, Rev. H. C. Olsen, H. H. Strom, P. G. Hanson, and O. O. Christianson.

atory course for those who had not completed the eighth grade in the common schools, a normal course which included all the branches required for a first grade teacher's certificate, a Luther College preparatory course to meet the demands of those who were preparing to enter the Luther College at Decorah, Iowa, and a commercial course including shorthand and typewriting.⁴⁷

Grand Forks College continued its successful work in this city until 1911. At the annual meeting of the corporation in July, 1910, it was decided that the school should be moved to Velva. The main cause for this decision was that the Norwegian Lutheran synod had made a change in their districts. On account of this change, which occurred in 1909, the members of the college corporation who lived in Minnesota were no longer members of the same district as those who lived in North Dakota. Members of the latter district saw the need of choosing a place that would better represent the center of their district and since an invitation had been received from Velva, N. D., the school was moved there in 1911. Furthermore, on account of a similar institution at Portland in Traill county,

⁴⁷ In the spring of 1902 there were two graduates of the normal and eight of the short commercial course. In 1903 there was one graduate from the academic, four from the college preparatory course, three from the Normal, and nine from the commercial courses.

Among the societies of the college were the Athenian English Literary Society which met every other Saturday evening. The *Norrøna Forening* was a society similar to the Athenian, only the Norwegian language was used. The *Modersmaalet* was a Norwegian literary society for women. An Irving Reading Club was connected with the school and also a Norwegian and an English debating society. The musical organizations consisted of several groups of singers organized for chorus work and a glee club, all of which met regularly every week. Members of these organizations generally made concert tours at the close of the school year. Besides these there was an athletic association, gymnastic and physical culture classes and an alumni association.

it was more difficult to maintain two schools so near each other. The building and campus of Grand Forks College was later transferred to Professor H. H. Aaker, who for a time, conducted a business college there.⁴⁸

GRAND FORKS DEACONESS HOSPITAL

St. Lukes hospital, later known as Grand Forks Deaconess hospital, was erected in 1891 by Dr. J. E. Engstad and was opened in January, 1892. The building was a brick structure 28 by 42 feet and was erected at a cost of \$10,000.⁴⁹ Dr. Engstad had for a long time been aware of the need of such an institution in Grand Forks. His practice as a physician in the city and state was continually increasing and there was no adequate place for his patients. The hospital erected in 1891 could accommodate only 10 patients, and in 1893 he built an addition so that the entire hospital, together with a contagious ward, could accommodate thirty-five persons.

Dr. Engstad was the owner of the hospital until December, 1899, and during these eight years the work had been a success in every way.⁵⁰ Altho the disbursements were larger than the income the first year, the other years proved it to be a financial success. However, Dr. Engstad

⁴⁸ The data for the history of Grand Forks College has been gathered chiefly from the files of the *Normanden*, Grand Forks, from the constitution of the corporation, the reports of the treasurer of the school, correspondence with the teachers and from the catalogs of the school.

⁴⁹ From an article in *Normanden*, January 20, 1892.

⁵⁰ When Dr. Engstad built the hospital it was his intention that it should be a paying proposition. At first this did not prove to be the case, probably to a large extent on account of a considerable number of poor people who stayed there without charge. As a consequence the disbursements for the year 1893 exceeded the income by \$1,223.39. On January 1, 1893, there were six patients at the hospital, while on January first the following year the number had increased to 17. Thruout the year 171 had enrolled, and of this number only 9 had died. *Normanden*, January 4, 1894.

decided to sell the building and late in the fall of 1899 Rev. I. Tollefsen of Minneapolis, Minn., visited this city and learned from the nurses that the hospital was for sale. It occurred to him immediately that some church ought to secure the property. He presented the matter to Rev. O. S. Haukom at Mekinock and received considerable encouragement. A corporation was formed and Rev. Tollefsen began to gather subscriptions, one person subscribed \$500, another a similar sum and before long \$2,500 were subscribed. The corporation was known as Grand Forks Deaconess Hospital. The charter members consisted chiefly of farmers and pastors.⁵¹ The gathering of subscriptions continued with success as one member of the board of trustees gave \$1100, another \$1000, while others gave \$500 each. In all \$9500 was subscribed and the hospital was bought and the name changed to Grand Forks Deaconess hospital. The articles of incorporation were drawn up in the office of attorney John A. Sorley on the 9th of November, 1899, and according to these articles the members are not stockholders and receive no dividends, but what surplus there may be goes to the improvement of the institution.⁵²

⁵¹ The charter members were: Guttorm Sanden, Rev. O. S. Haukom, Nils Nelson, Peter Lieberg, G. A. Stadstad, all from Mekinock; H. P. Haugen, Kelly; Peder Korsmo and Amund Ostmo from Northwood, and Rev. I. Tollefsen of Minneapolis. At the first regular meeting the following men joined the corporation: A. A. Stadstad, T. A. Lieberg, and S. Torseth from Mekinock; Ole Stadstad, and Ole Haugen from Manvel; F. G. Enger and Rev. A. Haukom from Portland; Ole Dahl, T. A. Ulberg, A. N. Ostmo, and Rev. Edwards from Northwood; N. H. Berg, G. A. Stavens from Hatton and Professor G. Sverdrup from Minneapolis. The persons elected as trustees were Rev. I. Tollefsen, president, Peder Korsmo, vice-president, Rev. O. S. Haukom, secretary, Amund Ostmo, treasurer, and Guttorm Sanden, Halvor Haugen and Peter Lieberg. Somewhat later F. G. Enger and N. H. Berg became members of the board of trustees in place of Rev. Tollefsen and Guttorm Sanden, who resigned.

⁵² From an address delivered by Rev. O. S. Haukom at the dedication of the hospital in January, 1903, *Normanden*, February 4, 1903; *Normanden*, December 13, 1899, and supplement to *Normanden*, May 17, 1906.

On the eleventh of December, when the new management took possession of the hospital, it contained 33 patients, and was the only one in this city.

The building soon proved to be too small for the number of patients who desired admission and an adjoining ward had frequently been made use of. For this reason a committee was chosen at the annual meeting in 1901 to investigate opportunities for erecting an addition, which was built in 1902, costing \$17,000. From the time the corporation took charge on December 11, 1899, to the dedication in January, 1903, 1430 patients had enrolled. During that period 730 operations had been performed and eleven sects and fourteen nationalities had been represented among the patients. As many poor people were brot who had no means whereby to pay their hospital bills, a helping fund was formed. The report for 1906 shows that the income of the hospital was \$17,715.23 and the disbursements \$16,728.75. The number of patients during the year was 707, of which 17 had died and free care was given to the poor amounting to \$800.⁵³

Several improvements and additions have been made to Grand Forks Deaconess hospital since it was bought, which show that the institution has been a success. The first of these has already been mentioned. The second addition was made in 1910, amounting approximately to \$10,000. In 1915 an addition was made which cost about \$25,000 and at the same time a laundry and a heating plant were built, which together cost \$5,000. The next year an automatic elevator was put in, costing \$3,000 and the erection of a third story of the old division of the building in 1916 came approximately to \$12,000. The last improvement was com-

⁵³ Address by Rev. O. S. Haukom at the dedication, January, 1903, and Supplement to *Normanden*, May 17, 1906.

pleted at a cost of \$30,000 and the total value of the property of the hospital was estimated at \$160,000.⁵⁴

DEACONESS HOSPITAL AND OLD PEOPLE'S HOME OF NORTHWOOD

The Northwood Deaconess hospital was erected in the summer of 1908. A small hospital was built there in 1902, but after 1905 it was too small for its purpose and a new hospital was put up in 1908 by the Northwood Deaconess Hospital and Home Association. This association consisted of Norwegian Lutherans, chiefly of Northwood, Hatton and vicinity. According to their articles of incorporation there is no distribution of dividends but whatever surplus there may be goes to the improvement of the buildings and to the aid of the poor. The building, put up in 1908, cost \$28,434 and was opened on the 17th of November of that year.⁵⁵ During the year the treasurer, P. S.

⁵⁴ Data furnished in 1906 by Amund Ostmo who has been treasurer of the corporation since it was formed.

The different men who have served as presidents of the corporation are Rev. I. Tollefsen, Minneapolis, Peder Korsmo, Northwood, F. G. Enger of Portland and Amund Ostmo who has served for the last four years. The present officers of the corporation and members of the board of trustees are: Amund Ostmo, president and treasurer, John Bridston, vice-president, K. A. Hofto, secretary, all of Grand Forks, and G. G. Stadstad, A. A. Anderson, S. Forseth and T. A. Lieberg. The nurses who are now at the hospital are: Marie Hansen, superintendent of hospital, Marie Fredrickson, superintendent of nurses, Rena Myhre, supervisor of surgical department, Alma Opheim, Anna Varenson, Sara Haugen, Mabel Christiansen, Marión Flom, Emma Trudeau, Anna Skeim, Thea Thorpe, Amalia Tande, Bella Reiton, Margaret Anderson, Selma Nordling, Ragna Moseide, Stella Severinson, Cora Nicholson, Pauline Urvold, Selma Sletten, Clara Sistrud, Juliana Fredrick, Marie Owen, Ruth Reardon, Tillie Sletto, Lili Carver, Mabel Hukee, Frida Ness, Maline Skeim, and Edna Nelson.

⁵⁵ The board of directors at that time were Rev. I. D. Runsvold, president, T. E. Tufte, secretary, P. S. Evanson, treasurer and Dr. O. F. Peterson, Rev. Martin Homstad and Rev. A. I. Eikeland.

Normanden, October 28, 1908, and report by secretary T. E. Tufte, *Normanden*, March 10, 1909.

Evanson, had received and paid \$34,380, all the work of which was done without compensation. Despite the fact that there was a debt against the building in 1909 free care given to poor patients during the year amounted to \$324.⁵⁶

As soon as the plans were laid for the new hospital it was decided to use the old building as an Old People's Home. This home was soon ready and both that and the hospital have since belonged to the same association and been managed by the same directors.⁵⁷ During the year 1910-11, ten young women attended the training school for nurses and five persons had made the old people's institute their home. The same persons served as officers and members of the board of directors in 1911 as in 1909, with

⁵⁶ From the first of March, 1908, to that date the following year there had been 375 patients at the hospital, of which only five died. Among the patients there were 169 men and 206 women and of these 294 were Norwegians, 18 Swedes, 16 Germans, 15 Americans; 329 were Lutherans, 15 Catholics, 16 Methodists, 9 Presbyterians and 351 were of North Dakota, and 20 from Minnesota.

Normanden, Oct. 28, 1908, and March 10, 1909.

The officers elected for 1909 were: Rev. I. D. Runsvold, president, Rev. Elias Aas, vice-president, T. E. Tufte, secretary and P. S. Evanson, treasurer. The men elected as board of directors were: Rev. I. D. Runsvold, Rev. Elias Aas, Rev. M. Romstad, H. Tingelstad, Rev. A. I. Eikeland, Dr. O. F. Peterson, P. S. Evanson, Ole Eielson and Iver Thompson.

⁵⁷ According to the report for March, 1911, there had been 505 patients at the hospital of which 239 were men and 266 women, 175 were Norwegians and 430 Lutherans. The income of the two institutions during the year was \$20,812.29, and the disbursements \$20,723.62. Of the latter amount \$3,571.48 had been paid out for improvements.

the exception of Edward Peterson who filled the vacancy made by the resignation of Tingelstad.⁵⁸

SONS OF NORWAY

The organization bearing this name was formed in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in January, 1895, and its present headquarters is in the New York Life Building of that city. The Sons of Norway has existed as an organization for only twenty-two years but has had a very rapid growth. It was organized by ten men, and fifteen years later, in 1910, it had 127 local lodges and approximately 8000 members. The chief purposes of the organization are to unite in a fraternal union men of Norwegian descent or those that have been citizens of Norway, to preserve and promote an interest in the Norwegian language, to give to the new country the benefit of the social and political endowments of the members and learn to meet the demands of the new conditions here, to promote a mutual understanding and agreement among Norwegians in America and seek to preserve the history of the Norwegian immigrants. The lodges have supervision over and distribute aid to their needy members and look after the subscriptions for life insurance. The members keep posted on labor conditions in this country so as to be able to aid the newcomers in securing positions. The organizations seek to secure the best lectur-

⁵⁸ In 1915 Rev. I. D. Runsvold was president, T. C. Tufte, vice-president, H. M. Ostlie, secretary, and P. S. Evanson, treasurer. The members of the board of directors were: Rev. S. H. Njaa, Hans Tingelstad, B. S. Draxton, T. Midbo, Rev. Tjornhem, and Rev. A. I. Eikeland. The superintendent and rector of the hospital for that year was Rev. I. D. Runsvold and the superintendent of nurses was Miss Emma Amundson. The person in charge of the Old People's Home was E. T. Strand and the woman elected superintendent of the home was Anna Alte. The physicians practising at the hospital were Dr. O. F. Peterson, Dr. Savre and Dr. Carlstrom, all residents of Northwood. *Normanden*, March 22, 1911, and J. L. Rindal, *Normanden*, November 10, 1915, respectively.

ers and by means of songs and addresses develop an appreciation for Norwegian melodies and the memories of their native land.⁵⁹

During the time that the organization has existed it has met with great success thruout the Northwest in realizing its aims. Several thousand dollars have been distributed to sick persons and to widows and orphans.

Lodge No. 21, Sons of Norway, was organized in Grand Forks on the 23rd of June, 1903, with L. K. Hassell as its first president.⁶⁰ The constitution of the local lodge, among other rules, states the regulations and requirements of the admission of members, the insurance fee and the rules relating to the aid granted to the sick.

⁵⁹ Its progress may be seen from the following figures:

Year	Lodges	Members	Paid in cases of deaths.
1900	2	312	\$ 100.00
1901	3	525	700.00
1902	5	580	500.00
1903	17	1034	1,900.00
1904	24	1872	5,600.00
1905	35	3002	5,200.00
1906	48	3415	8,300.00
1907	53	3876	7,400.00
1908	65	5000	2,600.00
1909	90	7000	7,100.00
1910	127	8000	

⁶⁰ The charter members of Lodge No. 21 were: Andrew Knudson, Haakon Langord, Nels Thompson, Arnt Odlaug, Peter Thorson, Thomas Thompson, Alick Haraldson, John Romstad, Ole Tillie, Louis Twite, Thorsten Thompson, A. P. Holand, Ole Moen, Hans Rud, Thorvald Bydal, M. A. Haugen, A. O. Braseth, Harald Lange, K. Lysing, K. K. Kjørlien, Sigvart Fjelde, Peder Pederson, J. F. Brandt, Louis Kleven, Peder Evensen, Gustav Thompson, John Madson, Enok Wold, Ole Sigerseth, B. O. Paulsness, Lars Jensen, Nils Iversen, Marcus Trandem, Herman Hansen, Carl Haugen, Chr. Evanson, O. K. Waxvik, A. M. Lodmell, Emil Bergh, Ingvald Langstad, John Lunseth, L. K. Hassell, Knut Johnson, J. E. Thorson, Adolph Spaare, Oscar Thorson, G. L. Gilbertson, G. Heimholdt, H. M. Erickson, Asbjorn Mykleby, A. Eiland, B. O. Forseth, and Ole Holmoe.

THE SCANDIA SOCIETY

In 1891 several short articles appeared in the *Normanden* regarding the possibilities of organizing a Scandinavian literary society in Grand Forks. Many of the Norwegians here at that time had recently immigrated from Norway and when they settled on the wild land of the prairies they soon realized that they were separated from their native land and its literature. Many of them longed for the books and other forms of national literature to break the monotony of prairie life but they were generally poor and could not afford to invest money in books. The desire for a Norwegian organization and literature was especially great since so many were unable to read or speak English.

An attempt was made to form such a society in 1891 and an organization was effected but nothing further was attempted. Two years later articles again appeared in the *Normanden* regarding the organization of a Norwegian literary society. The initiative was taken chiefly by Knut Nora and Kjetil Knutsen and in the issue of the *Normanden* for March 15, 1893, an article announced a meeting for the following Saturday night in the Odd Fellows Hall for the purpose of organization. By eight o'clock that evening about 20 men and women were gathered and Knut Nora explained in detail the purpose of the meeting while Rev. Larson spoke about the importance of good literature and of a literary society. About 40 members joined at this time to form an organization and a committee was elected consisting of Rev. Larson, Annie Sorum, Rena Christensen, Arnold Otto, and Knut Nora for the purpose of draft-

ing a constitution.⁶¹ These reported on the following Saturday night and at this meeting the constitution was adopted and a membership fee was fixed. Concerning the aim of the organization the constitution states that it shall be to stimulate interest in recent problems and in Scandinavian literature, and that this shall be accomplished by means of lectures, debates or discussions, readings, the editing of a paper by the members of the organization and by the forming of a library.⁶²

For about thirty years Scandia existed as an important factor in developing the social and intellectual life of the Scandinavians of Grand Forks. During this period the society had a number of literary programs, concerts and celebrations of various kinds and possessed a library consisting of several hundred volumes.

THE BJARNE MALE CHORUS

The Norwegians of the Red River Valley have received considerable credit for their musical organizations and this is especially true of their choruses or glee clubs. Besides

⁶¹ The organizers of Scandia were: Knut Nora, Kjetil Knutson, O. Ellingson, A. Amundgaard, Thorvald Nilson, Anton Berg, P. Standal, N. Foss, Gunder Nave, A. K. Olson, G. Hvidsten, O. S. Hoel, H. A. Bygland, Ingv. Saugstad, E. O. Steberg, O. Haug, A. Skurdal, Reverend Larson, Miss M. Lommen, Miss B. Lommen, Miss B. Ensrud, Miss Maggie Christiansen, Miss B. Haugen, Miss A. Sorum, Anton Bentson, M. Raastad, John Nora, L. Resvig, P. O. Thorson, N. Ungstad, Hans Pederson and C. Waldin. Supplement to *Normanden*, May 17, 1896.

⁶² The officers elected for April, May and June were: Knut Nora, president, Rev. Larson, vice president, Rena Christiansen, secretary, Ole Ellingson, treasurer, Anton Berg, librarian, O. S. Hoel, C. O. Steberg, Kjetil Knutsen, and Arnold Otto were appointed as a committee to assist the librarian in the purchase of books and Kjetil Knutsen was chosen editor of Scandia's paper. In the fall of 1893, Scandia started a boarding club and the same year a chorus was formed. A little later a men's glee club was also established and in order to purchase more books, a monthly fee of twenty-five cents was charged for each member.

their membership in church choirs, they have organized choruses in different parts of the valley which are important factors in stimulating the interest in music and in developing musical talent. The natives of Norway have always shown great liking for their national hymns and love of their native land.

In January, 1909, an initial step was taken by the glee club, Orpheus, of Fargo, for a union of the several clubs of the valley and an invitation was extended to the clubs, Ljom of Fergus Falls and Bjarne of Grand Forks, that they should send delegates to a meeting to be held at Fargo, January 8, 1909. A union was formed with L. K. Hassell of Grand Forks as president, I. C. Knoff, vice president, and John Furuness, secretary, both of Fergus Falls, H. P. Halvorson, Fargo, treasurer, P. H. Rudd, Fargo, director, and John Prestbo, Fargo, assistant director. The clubs, Viking of Crookston and Brage of Thief River Falls, soon joined the league.

The first musical conference was held in Fergus Falls during the 4th, 5th, and 6th of June, 1909. The second program of the joint chorus was held at Thief River Falls, June, 1911, and the third at Devils Lake on the 27th and 28th of June, 1913. By that time the league consisted of the following local organizations: Orpheus of Fargo, Bjarne of Grand Forks, Viking of Crookston, Brage of Thief River Falls, Norden of Devils Lake, Norrøna of Moorhead, Lyren of Abercrombie, Norrøna of Petersburg, Snorre of Fergus Falls, and Kjerulf of Hatton-Northwood.

The fourth program was held at Crookston on the 23rd and 24th of June, 1915, the fifth at Moorhead in 1921 and the sixth at Thief River Falls in 1923. Besides these meetings, which have extended thru two or three days, at each gathering the various organizations have conducted many

local entertainments and furnished music during other meetings.

The Bjarne Male Chorus was organized on the 3rd of July, 1881, and celebrated its 25th anniversary at the joint program held in this city the first week in July, 1916. The initiative in the organization was taken by H. N. Fremstad, a native of Norway, who had been an enthusiastic student of music in his native land and after his arrival in this country he became an organizer and an efficient musical director.⁶³

After over forty-three years of existence, only one of the organizers, L. K. Hassell, is still a member. J. D. Wurschmidt and Gullick Pederson were active members for nearly twenty-five years. The year 1884 is especially remembered as a period in which its numbers increased and among those who joined then, were Gunnar Høst, O. H. Boyeson, who later became consul at Göteborg, and August Sagen. These were trained singers from Norway and greatly increased the efficiency of the organization, and remained members for many years. Owing to the fact that the music director, H. N. Fremstad, spent considerable time on his claim in Walsh county, L. K. Hassell was chosen to fill the place.

In 1897 the chorus, Lærken joined Bjarne and with it came many able singers. Among them were C. O. Steberg, John M. Tarang, and Peter Standal. By this union Magnus Solum became music director and held that position for two years. About this time J. Schefstad returned from a five years course at the Leipzig Conservatory and was made director for the following seven years.

⁶³ The first active members of Bjarne were: O. A. Moe, J. D. Wurschmidt, L. K. Hassell, H. A. Moe, Bersvend Johnson, P. I. Bye, O. C. Langseth, Gullick Pederson, S. O. Leen, O. Brodtkorb, O. Hexom, and Anton Pederson.

Bjarne was a member and a participant in the Scandinavian musical festival in Minneapolis in 1891 and in Chicago in 1893. The Bjarne Chorus has participated in twelve joint programs and in 1904 it was the chief entertainer at the Grand Forks program, and again in 1916. Halfdan Bendeke, Norwegian vice consul for North Dakota, was for many years a member and strongly supported the chorus, and is especially remembered for his work in making the concert and picnic of 1904 a success. The leading members of the organization at the thirtieth anniversary, July 3, 1911, were L. K. Hassell, John Lunseth, K. H. Johnson, and Christ Hanson, who had all been members for many years.⁶⁴ In 1916 at the celebration of the 35th anniversary, Bjarne had 35 members.⁶⁵ The fortieth anniversary was held July 3, 1921.

⁶⁴ Other members were H. Baldani, C. S. Berdenbeck, Christ Running, John Anderson, Hans Langmyhr, Gunnar Running, Peter Standal, Oscar Anderson, N. C. Wegner, and Th. Eide.

⁶⁵ The data for this sketch is from *Normanden*, July 7, 1916 and *Bjarne's 30 aars Jubilæum*, by L. K. Hassell.

**THE NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY**

BY ANTON HILLESLAND

Early Beginnings of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America

Before 1825 scattered individuals, sailors and adventurers, had found their way from Norway to the United States and settled among the American population, of which they soon became a part.¹

This year, 1825, marks the eventful landing of the sloop *Restaurationen* in New York with fifty-three Norwegian immigrants. In 1836 two other immigrant vessels came, and from that date to the present time there has been a steady flow of Norway's most ambitious citizens to this country, interrupted only by the Great War, until she has yielded up a larger per cent of her population to the United States than any other European country, save Ireland.²

The intermingling of peoples during the Napoleonic wars had caused the spread of new ideas and the formation of dissenting sects in Norway, and as a result of this a Quaker congregation had been formed in Stavanger by the converts to this faith.

¹ *History of Norwegian Immigration from Norway to the United States*, Iowa City, 1909, 43.

² *Ib.*, 27.

A great religious awakening among the peasants had taken place during the same period. This movement had been led by a talented and pious country lad, Hans Nilsen Hauge, whose fiery sermons directed against the abuses of the times, stirred the whole nation, and created a great commotion among the conservative state clergy.³ Hauge was persecuted and his meetings were broken up by the officials. He was finally imprisoned and for eleven years was made to suffer untold horrors in a filthy dungeon.⁴ His followers, called Haugeans, disgusted with conditions at home, were numerous among the early immigrants, as were also the Quakers.⁵

Led by the adventurous Kleng Person these pioneer immigrants, after an unsuccessful attempt at establishing a colony in New York state, founded settlements in the frontier regions in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. There were no ministers of the Lutheran faith among these immigrants before 1843, and laymen held religious services among the settlers in their cabins according to the method used by Hauge and his friends in Norway.⁶ Ole Olsen Heltetvedt preached to the passengers on board

³ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, Minneapolis, 1900, Vol. I., 176.

⁴ Norlie, *Visergutten*, Canton, S. Dak., Dec. 7, 1922, 5.

⁵ Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie*, Ephraim, Wis., 1908, p. 87.

⁶ *Ib.*, 90.

the sloop, *Restaurationen*, and later held meetings among the settlers.⁷

The most distinguished of these laymen was Elling Eielsen. He came to Fox river, LaSalle county, Illinois, in 1839, and built a meeting house in which he resided, the upper floor being used for services.⁸ He was an energetic and zealous man, who had for many years traveled through Norway and Denmark as an itinerant lay-preacher. In the latter country he had been arrested on charges similar to those brought against Hauge, lay preaching being forbidden by law in these countries.⁹

Eielsen's friends persuaded him to be ordained so that he would be able to administer the sacraments and carry out the duties of a pastor. Accordingly he was ordained by a German Lutheran pastor, Rev. Hoffman, who served congregations near Chicago. The same year C. L. Clausen, a Danish theological student, was ordained by another German Lutheran pastor, Rev. Krause of Milwaukee.

Up to this time the authorities in Norway had discouraged emigration, and had done nothing in the way of bringing the gospel to their countrymen on the American frontier. But in 1844 Rev. Wilhelm Dietrichsen came to these settle-

⁷ Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie*, 90.

⁸ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, 178.

⁹ Norlie, *Visergutten*, Dec. 7, 1922, 5.

ments, supported by funds from the mother country.¹⁰ He was the first of the pastors who came from Norway to minister to the spiritual wants of the emigrants. He offered to confirm Rev. Eielsen's ordination, but it was not accepted. Rev. Eielsen regarded Rev. Dietrichsen as a rationalist, while the latter accused him of fanaticism.

The two tendencies, pietism and formalism, had been transplanted to American soil, and were to be the source of much strife among the Norwegians in this country.¹¹ The persecutions to which both Hauge and Eielsen had been subjected at the hands of the state clergy had caused a deep resentment among many of their friends, who openly despised anything which smacked of high-church or ecclesiastical authority. But soon other and more difficult problems appeared. In 1845 when Rev. Dietrichsen attempted to organize congregations in the Fox River settlement, he failed, due to the chaotic religious conditions existing there. Besides the Haugeans, he encountered Presbyterians, Quakers and Mormons. They had all won adherents among the Norwegian settlers. One of these Mormon leaders went back to Norway to proselyte, and in 1856 brought 600 converts with him,

¹⁰ Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, Burlington, Iowa, 1916, 390.

¹¹ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, 179.

bound for Utah, where he became one of the counselors of Brigham Young.¹²

As the Haugeans had been wont to emphasize pure living, so the early pastors who supported the views of the State Church of Norway here, with equally strong zeal stressed pure doctrine, and warned their congregations against dissenting doctrines and false prophets.

Norwegian Lutheran Synodical Organizations

The Evangelical Lutheran church in America is the result of the first attempt to organize the Norwegian Lutherans in this country. On April 13-14, Rev. Elling Eielsen and his friends met at Jefferson Prairie, Rock county, Wisconsin, and organized themselves into a church body. Rev. Eielsen, who was the only ordained minister present at this meeting, was elected president of the synod.¹³ The laymen who met with him were self-delegated and consisted of his friends from the various Norwegian settlements in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin where Rev. Eielsen had preached. Rev. Eielsen had not organized his followers into congregations, and the method of procedure at the convention was very informal. A constitution was presented for adoption by Rev. Eielsen, who dictated it to a young lay-preacher, Ole Andrewson.

¹² Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie*, 88.

¹³ Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 389.

This constitution was then discussed by paragraphs and adopted.¹⁴

In 1848 two of Rev. Eielsen's able assistants, Ole Andrewson and Paul Andersen, separated from this church, owing to differences concerning doctrines and forms. They joined the Franckean synod and later took part in the forming of the Northern Illinois synod.¹⁵

In 1850 the Evangelical Lutheran church decided to establish a school for the training of ministers. Accordingly a hotel was bought near Lisbon, Illinois, and Rev. P. A. Rasmussen was appointed to teach. During the winter of 1854-55 he had three pupils under his care. This is the first independent attempt of the Norwegians in this country to train their own ministers. Unfortunately, Rev. Rasmussen offended Rev. Eielsen by offering some changes in the constitution. Rev. Rasmussen left the synod and the school was closed.¹⁶ Rev. Eielsen was now unable to minister to the ever-increasing numbers of those who shared his views, and he resorted to the ordination of laymen to assist him.

Some of these assistants asked for a revision of the constitution, and in 1874 it was decided that the ministers should meet and consider the

¹⁴ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Minneapolis, 1918, Vol. II., 708.

¹⁵ Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 389.

¹⁶ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, Minneapolis, 1914, 26.

matter. At this meeting the name was changed to Hauge's Evangelical Norwegian Lutheran synod, and some amendments were adopted. Rev. Eielsen, together with one other minister and some of his friends, met and decided to oppose the changes which had been made. Rev. Eielsen was elected president of this group, attempts at compromise failed and since 1876 this church, generally known as Eielsen's synod, has remained as a separate body.¹⁷

Hauge's synod retained the old traditional simplicity of service. The clergymen did not use the collar and gown, and the chant did not form part of the services as in the other Lutheran bodies.

In 1879 this synod established a college and theological seminary at Red Wing, Minnesota. Some of its institutions were jointly supported by other Norwegian Lutheran bodies.¹⁸

Liberal sentiments grew with an educated clergy and joint activities, and in 1917 this body took part in forming the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.¹⁹

The Norwegian Synod

In 1851 attempts were made to combine into one organization the congregations, whose creed

¹⁷ Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 392.

¹⁸ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 74.

¹⁹ *Lutheran World Almanac for 1921*, New York, 1920, 101.

and ritual were modeled after the state church of Norway. The constitution which had been adopted at this time was later found to contain Grundtvigianism, and the organization was dissolved. In 1853 seven clergymen and forty-five delegates from a number of congregations in Wisconsin, Iowa and Illinois met at Koshkonong, Wisconsin, and organized the synod of the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.²⁰

For a number of years this body had to rely on the mother country for its supply of ministers, and during the years 1848-58, fourteen theological candidates were received from the University at Christiania. But it was soon realized that in order to keep pace with the heavy influx of immigrants from Norway, some other means would have to be devised whereby ministers could be recruited from the Norwegian population in this country. Accordingly in 1855 investigations of several Lutheran seminaries resulted in an agreement with the Missouri synod for sharing the theological seminary at St. Louis. Rev. Lauritz Larsen was sent there, as the Norwegian professor, in 1859.²¹

The Civil War brought on strife in the church as well as in the other institutions within our country, and in 1861 the Norwegian synod deter-

²⁰ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 265.

²¹ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, 188.

mined on a college of their own. The first attempt at this was at Halfway creek, LaCrosse, Wisconsin, where Rev. Lauritz Larsen and Prof. F. A. Schmidt instructed eleven scholars. The following year the school was moved to Decorah, Iowa, where the \$100,000 Luther College building was dedicated in 1865.

In 1872 the Norwegian synod, together with four German Lutheran synods, formed the Synodical Conference, with the object of establishing a joint theological seminary. This union did not prove successful and in 1876 the Norwegian synod bought the Soldier's Orphan Home in Madison, Wisconsin, and established their own theological seminary. In 1888 this school was transferred to Minneapolis, where a \$30,000 building was erected. Besides the institutions established by the synod, private corporations within this body have founded a number of educational and charitable institutions.

In 1880 a controversy broke out between Dr. F. A. Schmidt, of the theological seminary at Madison, and Dr. W. Walther of the Missouri synod, concerning the doctrines of predestination and election. The Norwegian synod withdrew from the General Synodical Conference, but the controversy was taken up by both clergy and laity until the Norwegian synod became divided into two opposing groups.

Dr. Schmidt and his followers withdrew from

the theological seminary at Madison, and established themselves at St. Olaf's school in Northfield, Minnesota.²² This action was officially condemned by the synod, causing a separation in which approximately one-third of the ministers and congregations seceded and formed the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood. The school in Northfield became their stronghold. They added a college department to the school and in 1889 the name was changed to St. Olaf college.²³

The institutions of the Norwegian synod were left in a crippled condition for sometime afterwards, due to migration of students and the loss of financial support.²⁴ But after some time this body recovered from the effects of these disruptions, and in 1917, when it took part in the forming of the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, it was second, numerically, to the United Norwegian Lutheran church.²⁵

A small group of pastors and a few congregations refused to abide by the decision of the Norwegian synod in the forming of the large body. In 1918 this group formed a separate body calling it the Norwegian Synod of America. Rev. B. Harstad was elected president, and this synod, having no institutions of its own, agreed to use those of the Missouri synod.²⁶

²² Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in United States*, 193.

²³ Brum, *Fra Ungdomsaaar*, Minneapolis, 1915, 156.

²⁴ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in United States*, 193.

²⁵ *Lutheran World Almanac*, 1921, 101.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 116.

The United Norwegian Lutheran Church

Revs. Ole Andrewson and Paul Andersen left the Franckean synod and took part in organizing the Northern Illinois synod, consisting of Scandinavian and American Lutherans.²⁷

In 1860, due to doctrinal disagreements, the Swedish and Norwegian pastors with their congregations withdrew and organized a new body, the Scandinavian Augustana synod. This body established a college and theological seminary at Paxton, Illinois. In 1868 Rev. A. Weenaas, from Norway, was added to the faculty, which up to this time had consisted of two Swedish professors. The following year Prof. Weenaas, with the Norwegian students moved to Marshall, Wisconsin, where his friends had bought a school building. Here he continued to instruct the students who had come with him, besides others who were added later.

In 1870 the Norwegians thought it best to separate and to this the Swedes consented. The Norwegian pastors and congregations formed a new body, the Norwegian Augustana synod.

Rev. C. L. Clausen, with his congregations, had left the Norwegian synod on account of its views on slavery. After negotiations with some of the ministers of the Norwegian Augustana synod, Rev. Clausen joined this body and the

²⁷ These men were Rev. Eielsen's former assistants.

name was changed to the Norwegian-Danish Conference, Rev. Clausen being elected its president. A few of the ministers and about one-half of the congregations objected to these changes and retained the old name as a separate body. The Norwegian Augustana synod retained the academic department of the Marshall school and in 1881 it was moved to Beloit, Wis., where better accommodations could be secured. Later a college department was added and the school was again moved, this time to Canton, S. Dak., where \$8,000 worth of buildings were provided.²⁸

The college and theological departments of the Marshall school became the property of the Norwegian-Danish Conference. Prof. Weenaas was elected president and it was named Augsburg Seminary.

In 1872 this school was moved to Minneapolis, which was considered a more favorable location. Within the next two years Augsburg Seminary added to its faculty two able professors from Norway, Swen Oftedal and George Sverdrup. The latter became its president in 1876. This is the oldest Norwegian Lutheran theological seminary in America.

It has already been observed how a schism had taken place within each of the three Nor-

²⁸ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in United States*, 230.

wegian Lutheran church bodies during these two decades, 1870 to 1890. It was evident that six separate bodies would lead to hopeless confusion and between the years 1886 and 1890 a number of free conferences were held at various places to consider prospects for union. The most memorable of these conferences was held in Scandinavia, Wisconsin, in 1888. Here representatives from the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood, the Norwegian Augustana synod, the Norwegian Danish conference and Hauge's synod met and decided on the articles of the proposed union. With the exception of the latter body which contained a considerable number of pastors opposed to uniting with the other bodies, these three in 1890 formed the United Norwegian Lutheran church.²⁹

The trustees of the Augsburg property, Sverdrup and Oftedal, refused to transfer the property to the new organization. The matter was taken into the courts and finally settled. The Augsburg publishing house became the property of the United Norwegian Lutheran church, but Augsburg Seminary remained in the hands of the trustees and their friends. These formed a separate body in 1897 known as the Lutheran Free church.³⁰ Its policy is congregational rather than synodical.³¹

²⁹ Brum, *Fra Ungdomsaaer*, 33.

³⁰ Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in United States*, 241.

³¹ *Lutheran World Almanac*, 1921, 98.

The United Norwegian Lutheran church was the largest Norwegian church body in America, and supported a great number of institutions. The sentiments in favor of union were increasing and it was one of the questions for discussion in the church periodicals up to 1917, when this body joined the Norwegian synod and Hauge's synod in forming the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.³²

The Lutheran Brethren

This organization is modeled after the Free church of Norway.³³ It was founded with the intention of having only true Christians as members of the congregations. Rev. K. O. Lundeborg left the United Norwegian Lutheran church to organize this church, but later returned to the former body. Rev. E. M. Broen left the Lutheran Free church and has been one of the leaders in this church.³⁴ It puts strong emphasis on foreign missions, Bible study and laymen's meetings and differs in its methods of administering the sacraments from other Lutheran

³² *Lutheran World Almanac*, 1921, 103.

³³ 25 Aar av den Evangeliske Lutherske Frikirkes Historie i Norge; udgivet ved foranstaltning av Synoden, Arendal, 1902. This church was organized in Norway, 1876, basing its system on the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. In 1902 there were three Presbyteries with a membership of 9,000 in Norway. In Grand Forks, N. Dak., this church conducts a high school and Bible school. It also has its Old People's Home and foreign missions.

³⁴ Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 403.

bodies. Its formal organization took place in 1900.³⁵

The Church in Territorial Days

The first Norwegian settlements in North Dakota were made along the timbered areas of the Red river and its tributaries, the Wild Rice, the Maple, the Elm, the Sheyenne and the Goose rivers. In the late sixties a few settlers began to move across the Red river into Dakota territory near Hickson. During the seventies there was an exodus of homesteaders from the older settlements in Minnesota, Iowa and Wisconsin to the Red River valley.³⁶ Prairie schooners, singly or in trains of twelve or fifteen wagons, came with intervals of only a few days during the summer months. Other land seekers traveled by rail to Moorhead, from which place they walked across the country, each carrying an axe which they used to build rude cabins.³⁷

By 1875 all the timbered land along the Goose river had been taken up, and by 1880 the Sheyenne river settlement extended to the Fort Totten Indian reservation. By 1882 settlements appeared on the Forest and Park rivers, and the prairie lands between the rivers, which previous to this time had been considered only suitable

³⁵ *Lutheran World Almanac*, 1921, 130.

³⁶ Takla, *Det Norske Folk i De Forenede Stater*, Christiania, 1913, p. 77-79.

³⁷ *Hillsboro Banner*, June 17, 1921.

for grazing, were being filed on by the homesteaders, at first close to the timber belt and later gradually extending outward on the open prairie.³⁸ Towards the close of the territorial period, Norwegian settlements began to appear on the James and the Mouse rivers, as well as on the Missouri and its immediate tributaries.

Religious Affiliations of the Settlers

The Norwegian pioneers generally came from the older settlements where they had spent a few years after their arrival, during which time they had come in contact with one or more of the Norwegian churches in this country. Those coming from the western part of Norway, who had been influenced by the Haugean revival, joined one of the bodies which had its origin in that movement, and those whose sympathies were with the state church at home, generally sought membership in the Norwegian synod. Upon immigrating to new regions the frontiersmen sought to extend their church by organizing congregations and calling upon the synod of which they were members to supply them with pastors.³⁹ In order to assist them in this work and to care for the members who had moved

³⁸ These conclusions are based on a study of the years during which the early Norwegian churches were founded in the various localities as recorded in Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., p. 610-642.

³⁹ Takla, *Det Norske Folk i De Forenede Stater*, pp. 79 ff.

beyond their organized jurisdiction, the synods sent out mission pastors to the frontier settlements.⁴⁰ In communities where various groups of settlers had located, and where synodical affiliations differed, matters were complicated. When the settlers could set up separate organizations representing the various tendencies, the difficulty was solved, but in small communities free congregations were organized, leaving the matter of synodical affiliation to be decided at a later date. Generally these congregations became part of the synod of which the pastor was a member.

Synodical Organization

Although there were in 1870 four, and in 1876 five synodical bodies of the Norwegian Lutheran faith in the United States, only the three larger ones were represented in the Red River valley during the territorial period.⁴¹ These were: the Norwegian synod, equal in membership to all the others taken together; the Norwegian-Danish conference, which having lost the Danish element through a separation, was generally known as the Conference, and the Evangelical Lutheran church, which after 1876 was known as Hauge's synod.⁴² These two latter bodies were small but

⁴⁰ Accounts of some of the mission pastors are found on pp. 233 ff.

⁴¹ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., pp. 610-616.

⁴² Bergh, *Den Norsk Lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika*, Minneapolis, 1914, p. 253.

growing rapidly, and there was a strong competition for membership between the Conference and Norwegian synod in the early days in this state.

The schism which occurred in the Norwegian synod, bringing about the temporary organization of the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood in 1886, was also felt in this state. Ministers and congregations seceded from the Norwegian synod and joined the new organization, thus making four separate church bodies among the Norwegian Lutherans in the Red River valley, with nearly an equal membership toward the close of the territorial period.⁴³

Lutheran Congregations

The first Norwegian Lutheran congregations organized in what is now North Dakota, date back to 1871. During that year the Hemnes congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran church was organized in the northeast corner of Richland county and Trysil congregation of the Norwegian synod was organized in Cass county on the Red river west of Georgetown. Beginnings for an organization, which was perfected the following year, were also made in Cass county on the Sheyenne river near Hickson.⁴⁴ The first organization of a church in Traill county took

⁴³ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., pp. 11-109.

⁴⁴ Accounts of missionary work in this region are found on pp. 248, 250, 261, and 265.

place in 1872. That year Aal congregation of the conference was organized on the Goose river, between Hillsboro and Mayville. The first church in Barnes county was the Sheyenne Valley congregation, organized in 1873 northeast of Daily. That same year Trinity church was organized in Walsh county on Park river, four miles west of Grafton. In 1875 two congregations were organized in Grand Forks county, Hol, on the Goose river southeast of Northwood, and Walle, east of Thompson. In 1877 the Little Forks congregation was organized in Steele county on the Goose river. The following year the Lutheran church of Rutland was organized in Sargent county. In 1879 the first Lutheran church in Pembina county was organized in the town of Pembina. The same year two churches were founded in Ransom county: the St. Olaf congregation on Maple river at Enderlin and the Quam congregation on the Sheyenne river at Oswego. In 1880 the Haabet congregation was organized in Griggs county on the Sheyenne river southeast of Cooperstown. The following year two churches were founded in Nelson county: the Red Willow Lake congregation near Bolken and the Northern Sheyenne Valley congregation at Lee postoffice. In 1882 the Stefanus congregation was organized in Cavalier county on the

south branch of Park river, southwest of Milton.⁴⁵

During the seventies there were thirteen congregations organized in Traill county, seven in Richland, six in Grand Forks, three in Walsh, two in Ransom, and one in each of the following counties, Barnes, Sargent, Steele and Pembina. After 1870 a number of early churches were located along the rivers.⁴⁶ Soon after 1880 eleven congregations were organized in Richland county, seven in Cass, fifteen in Traill, twenty-seven in Walsh, six in Pembina, seven in Sargent, twelve in Ransom, thirteen in Barnes, nine in Steele, thirteen in Griggs, fifteen in Nelson, and eleven in Cavalier county.

Early Pastors

In 1871 Rev. O. J. Kaasa, of the Evangelical Lutheran church, who was serving as a mission pastor in Douglas and Otter Tail counties, Minnesota, from 1869 to 1893, took a trip to the Red River settlement and held services for the Hennes congregation. He served this congregation as an itinerant pastor until 1884.⁴⁷

In 1872 Rev. B. Hagboe, of the conference, came to Oak Lake, Minnesota, from which place he traversed the Red River valley from Fort Aber-

⁴⁵ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., pp. 610-642.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, Vol. II., pp. 610-620.

⁴⁷ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 121.

crombie to Frog Point. He visited the settlements along the Goose, the Sheyenne, the Maple, the Elm, and the Wild Rice rivers; besides serving many congregations in Minnesota. With the exception of the years from 1882 to 1886, during which time he served in Brookings, South Dakota, Rev. Hagboe has been preaching in this state. After 1886 he has had charge of congregations in Barton and in the vicinity where he resides at present.⁴⁸

In May, 1872, Rev. Vettlesen, of the Norwegian synod, who was serving in Otter Tail county, held several meetings for the Norman congregation, where he had been called the year previously. In the fall of that same year Rev. H. A. Preus, president of the Norwegian synod, visited this congregation and held official inspection.⁴⁹

During the fall of 1872 Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker of the Norwegian synod, made a journey to the Red River valley from his home in Goodhue county, Minnesota. He traversed the Red River settlement between Breckenridge and Georgetown, conducting services, organizing congregations and investigating the field for church extension.⁵⁰

Rev. L. A. K. Carlson, who served near Alex-

⁴⁸ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 134.

⁴⁹ Endresen, *History of Norman Congregation*, appendix, 133.

⁵⁰ See the account of this trip, p. 247.

andria from 1871 to 1875, and Rev. L. J. Markhus who served near Norway Lake, Minnesota, from 1869 to 1885, both members of the Norwegian synod, made several trips to Cass and Traill counties, conducting services and organizing congregations between 1872 and 1874.⁵¹

In 1873 Rev. J. A. Hellestvedt of the same synod came to Cass county and located on the Sheyenne river, where he had charge of a district which is now served by nine pastors. He was the first resident Norwegian Lutheran pastor in North Dakota.⁵³

That same year Prof. A. Weenaas of the conference visited the Goose River settlement and preached near the present site of Portland, where the Aurdal congregation was later organized.⁵³

In 1874 Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker made another trip to the Red River valley, this time accompanied by Rev. K. Bjørgo of Lake Park, Minnesota. Several meetings were held and Rev. Ylvisaker promised to send a pastor to the Goose River settlement. The same year this district was visited by Rev. B. J. Muus of the same synod on one of his trips thru the inner mission field.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., 14.

⁵² *Ib.*, 140.

⁵³ Related by S. Heskin of Portland, N. D.

⁵⁴ The Gran congregation was reported by Rev. Muus in 1874 as being in good condition. By a consolidation with two other Norwegian congregations there was organized the First Lutheran Church of Mayville.

From a letter written by Rev. N. J. Lohre, Mayville, N. D.

In the fall of that year Rev. B. Harstad, who had received calls from two congregations in Dakota territory, besides being selected by the Norwegian synod to serve as an inner mission pastor, came to the Red River valley. He preached in Norwegian, German and English, and, during his first two years here, he organized sixteen congregations besides making mission trips to Park, Forest and Mouse rivers. In 1878, he established the Franklin school, which was held in an addition to his large log house. This he did in order that the young people in the community could get an education. Later this school was moved to Portland where it was continued until 1917, under the name of Bruflat Academy.⁵⁵ Rev. Harstad conducted his work in the eastern part of the state until 1891, when he moved to the state of Washington to continue his work of organization among the Norwegian settlers there.⁵⁶

In 1875 Rev. P. A. Nykreim, of the conference, came to Audubon, Minn., from which place he served eleven congregations, some of which were located in Dakota territory. In 1880 he moved to Grafton, where he had charge of the same number of churches, and with the exception of three years, when he served in Marshall county, Minnesota, he has been actively engaged in minister-

⁵⁵ See p. 262.

⁵⁶ Information contributed by Rev. Harstad.

ial work in this state. He resides at present, 1923, at Park River.⁵⁷

Another pastor who came to this state in 1875 was Rev. Pall Thorlakson. He was originally an immigrant from Iceland, and had become a member of the Norwegian synod. He organized congregations among his countrymen in Pembina county in this territory and in Manitoba.⁵⁸

In 1876, the Norwegian synod secured another resident pastor in this state, Rev. N. Forde, who served congregations in Fargo and vicinity until 1881.⁵⁹ The following year Rev. Hagboe took a trip to Norway and the vacancy was filled by Rev. J. A. Bergh, Rev. O. H. Bostad, Rev. J. M. Waage. Rev. P. A. T. Nykreim and Prof. A. Weenaas.⁶⁰

In 1878, Hauge synod ordained Bersvend Anderson, a lay preacher from Norway. He had settled on a claim near Crookston, two years earlier, and had already made several trips thru the Red River valley gathering the settlers for devotional meetings. After this time he traveled about on foot, almost continually, organizing the Haugeans into congregations, holding meetings and performing the regular ministerial duties. He also gathered laymen from different church bodies in larger conventions which were held at

⁵⁷ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 156.

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 156.

⁵⁹ *Ib.*, 158.

⁶⁰ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., 29.

various places, thus trying to foster a spirit of unity and cooperation in his work.⁶¹ Later he founded a layman's periodical which he edited for a number of years. He served in the Red River valley until 1894, at which time he moved to Canada to continue organization work. He had the distinction of being the first Lutheran pastor in Alberta.

In 1878, Rev. Ch. I. Wold of the conference, was called to serve in Fargo and vicinity. He organized several congregations and remained until 1883.⁶² Rev. J. Bale, of the Norwegian synod, came to Norman, the same year, in this vicinity he served a number of churches until 1896.⁶³

In 1879, three other prominent pastors of this synod came to Dakota territory. Rev. R. J. Wisnaes took charge of congregations in Cass and Richland counties, where he is still serving, 1923.⁶⁴ Rev. O. H. Aaberg came to Walle, Grand Forks county, from which place he traveled throughout the north eastern counties in this state, organizing and serving congregations. In 1884 he moved to Devils Lake, where he continued the same work. At this place he also founded Aaberg Academy.⁶⁵ The third pastor to come to the Red River valley this year was Rev. P. O.

⁶¹ *Lutheraneren*, Minneapolis, Jan. 16, 1918.

⁶² Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, 170.

⁶³ *Ib.*, 164.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 174.

⁶⁵ *Ib.*, 161.

Strømme, who served congregations on both sides of the Red river until 1886.⁶⁶

During this decade, organization work was done on the western edge of the Red River valley by Rev. I. L. Lundebj of the conference. He traveled between Fort Ransom and Devils Lake, where he organized eighteen congregations, four of which were located in Ransom, seven in Griggs, six in Nelson, and one in Ramsey counties. He worked in this region from 1882 to 1897.⁶⁷ Simultaneously Rev. H. B. Thorgrimsen of the Norwegian synod, began work among the Icelanders in Pembina county. Here he organized several congregations and later promoted the founding of a separate Icelandic synod.⁶⁸

Rev. M. C. Holseth, of the Norwegian synod, who came to Dakota territory in 1883, organized congregations in five of the north eastern counties.⁶⁹ The following year Rev. Th. J. Skjei, of Hauge synod organized congregations for this synod in Cass, Steele, Nelson and Grand Forks counties.

Rev. J. I. Lønne, of the conference, who came to Dakota territory in 1881, is known among his countrymen for the work which he accomplished in organizing temperance societies, and combat-

⁶⁶ See biographical sketch of Peer Strømme, p. 233.

⁶⁷ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., 75-102.

⁶⁸ From a personal interview with Rev. H. B. Thorgrimson.

⁶⁹ From a letter written by Rev. M. C. Holseth.

ting the liquor traffic. He served congregations in Hillsboro and vicinity.⁷⁰

Later Developments of the Church in the Red River Valley

The first important event which took place in the Norwegian Lutheran church in the early days of state-hood, was the organization of the United Lutheran Norwegian church, which took place in 1890.⁷¹ The congregations in the Red River valley which up to this time had formed parts of the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood and those which had formed part of the conference, became a constituent part of the new organization. Thus again there were three church bodies among the Norwegian Lutherans in this district. But this situation was not long to continue, for the Augsburg strife, which came as a result of the union, was felt throughout the former conference congregations. Minority factions set up independent churches which in 1897 became part of the Lutheran Free church. In 1900 a new body, the Lutheran Brethren, which had been organized in Wisconsin that year, began to establish congregations in the Red River valley.⁷²

The building of churches occupied much of the efforts of the Norwegian church members this period. The complications caused by the fact

⁷⁰ Related by S. Johnson of Grand Forks, N. D.

⁷¹ Bothne, *Illustreret Kirketidende*, Chicago, 1898, 848.

⁷² Takla, *Det norske folk i de Forenede Stater*, 210.

that several synods had congregations in the same communities, presented many difficult problems. Congregations which covered large areas were confronted by the question of deciding where the church should be built. As a large proportion of the congregations were rural and consequently with no natural center, the difficulty was intensified. Ministers were called in several instances to serve churches which formed parts of different synods, but generally the congregations were served by ministers of their own body.⁷³ Accordingly the pastors of the smaller bodies had large circuits, comprising several counties.⁷⁴ In 1917 the Lutheran Brethren had nine small congregations located in Richland, Ransom, Sargent, Traill, and Grand Forks counties. The Lutheran Free church had at this time thirty-four congregations distributed throughout the counties in the Red River valley, with the exception of Sargent. In no case were there more than four churches in the same county, and three counties had only a single Free church congregation.⁷⁵

The same was true of Hauge's synod. With the exception of Pembina county this body had thirty-one churches scattered throughout the Red River valley. In Walsh county this synod had seven churches and in five counties it had only one con-

⁷³ See pp. 249, 262.

⁷⁴ See pp. 251, 254.

⁷⁵ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, 613-15.

gregation in each. The United Norwegian Lutheran church was represented by one hundred and forty-eight churches in all these counties, varying from two to nineteen in each. The Norwegian synod had organized fifty-seven congregations, all of which were located in the Red River valley counties, except Griggs, varying in number from one to ten in the several counties. In Pembina county its churches had become part of the Icelandic synod.⁷⁶

When in 1917, the negotiations, which for many years had been carried on among the Norwegian Lutheran church bodies, resulted in a union between Hauge's synod, the Norwegian synod and the United Norwegian church, many obstacles were cleared away for concerted action on the part of the individual congregations in this state. Circuits have been made compact and much inconvenience and expensive travel for the pastors have been avoided. Consolidations of congregations, which were formerly parts of different synods, took place at twenty different localities within the state. In the Red River valley, for example, at Fargo the first Lutheran church was formed from two congregations; at Grand Forks, Bethany church was formed from two congregations; at Mayville the first Lutheran church was formed from three congregations; at Hillsboro

⁷⁶ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, 613.

the first Lutheran church was formed from two congregations; at Fordville two churches were consolidated and two church edifices were used, one located in the city and one in the country; at Buxton two congregations were served by the same minister, holding services in the two churches alternate Sundays. Many of the country congregations were located far enough apart to warrant retaining the old organizations, and in this case the consolidation took place within the circuit rather than between congregations, enabling a pastor to serve congregations without much travel.⁷⁷

The Norwegian Lutheran churches in the Red River valley number a total of 270 churches, 227 of which form a part of the Norwegian Lutheran church, 34 part of the Lutheran Free church, and 9 forming part of the Lutheran Brethren.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ From materials furnished by Rev. N. J. Lohre, Mayville, N. D.

⁷⁸ Richland, contains 26; Cass, 17; Traill, 25; Grand Forks, 25; Walsh, 28; Pembina, 4; Cavalier, 21; Nelson, 25; Steele, 20; Griggs, 17; Barnes, 21; Ransom, 16 and Sargent, 17.

In Richland county the churches are distributed throughout the northern and central portion of the county; in Cass county along the Red river and the south eastern portion of the county besides at Hunter and Buffalo. In Traill county there is one small district in the north central portion of the county and another in the southeast corner where there are no churches, otherwise the distribution is general. In Grand Forks county there are churches within reach of all the inhabitants with the exception of a small district in the north central part of the county. In Walsh county the churches are all located west of Grafton, with an even distribution. In Pembina county the Icelandic churches have become part of that synod, and as such separate from the Norwegian church bodies. The four Norwegian churches are located as follows: one at St. Thomas; one west of Hensel; one east of Walhalla and one south of the latter

Organizations Within the Church

Ever since the territorial days the church has depended on the Ladies Aid societies of the various congregations for much of its support. Assisted by the Young People's organizations these societies have generally equipped the church edifices with furniture and fixtures. Choirs, temperance societies and men's clubs are social organizations which have been provided for in many congregations.⁷⁹

Sunday Schools are provided for in most congregations. Several weeks of religious instruction are given in many churches during the summer months.⁸⁰ The subjects taught have to the present time included catechism, Bible history, church history, music and Norwegian. There is a tendency at present to discontinue the study of Norwegian and to devote all the time to religious instruction. In the urban centers English is used

place. The churches in Cavalier county are located in the eastern and in the southern parts, there being also two congregations in the central part and one in the northwest corner of that county. The churches in Nelson county are located in the southern part and towards the northern end, besides the towns along the main line of the Great Northern railroad. The churches are distributed thruout Steele county with the exception of the south east corner. In Griggs county the distribution is fairly general. In Barnes county, more than three-fourths of the churches are located in the southern part, the others being located one at Dazey, one south of Pillsbury, one west of Rogers and one at Valley City. The churches are fairly well distributed thruout Ransom county. In Sargent county the southwest corner is the only section in which there is not a Norwegian Lutheran church.

Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., 10.

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, Vol. II., 611.

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, Vol. II., 692.

exclusively, teachers for these schools being provided for by students from the various church colleges and academies.⁸¹

Besides supporting their local pastor and congregations, the Norwegian Lutherans in North Dakota have carried on various educational and missionary enterprises.⁸² Mission work abroad is carried on by 107 American missionaries, assisted by 886 native workers. Among the nine million heathen where this work is carried on, the Norwegian Lutheran church conducts 394 schools with an enrollment of 11,680 pupils.⁸³

Mission work at home is carried on among the Eskimos in Alaska, the Indians in Wisconsin and the colored population in Minneapolis. Seamen's missions are provided for in San Francisco, Seattle, Galveston and Boston. Deaf and dumb missions are supported by the church at Del Rapids, South Dakota and at Faribault, Minnesota.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Menigheder i Amerika*, Vol. II., 693.

⁸² The Norwegian Lutheran church is at present supporting a theological seminary at Saint Paul, four colleges, three junior colleges, three normal schools and eighteen academies, located in the various parts of U. S. and Canada, with 281 teachers and 3,652 students. Besides this, it supports a Deaconess hospital in Chicago, eight homes for the aged, seven orphanages, two rescue homes for women, two day nurseries, two kindergartens and one summer home for children.

⁸³ There are, also, fifteen hospitals and dispensaries, which are taken care of by eleven medical missionaries and twenty-eight nurses who gave medical treatment to 24,199 patients last year. At present the baptized natives number 15,000.

⁸⁴ From materials furnished by Rev. I. D. Ylvisaker, Fargo, N. D.

The Norwegian Lutheran Synods in the Red River Valley

In summarizing the work of the various synods which have been represented among the Norwegian Lutherans in North Dakota from the year of their beginning in 1871 until the present time, 1923, each body will be considered separately. While still known under the name, the Evangelical Lutheran church, Hauge's synod began its work in the Red River valley, thru the efforts of Rev. O. J. Kaasa and the Haugean immigrants from Norland, Norway. The Hemnes congregation was organized in 1871 at Christine. Hauge's synod did not experience any expansion in the Red River valley before 1878, when Rev. Bersvend Anderson was ordained and began his work in that region. He traveled mainly in Richland, Cass, Traill, Grand Forks and Walsh counties.⁸⁵ Here he organized the Haugeans into congregations.⁸⁶

In 1881 Rev. G. Evenson was called to Traill county to assist Rev. Anderson. Rev. L. J. Nesheim succeeded Rev. G. Evenson in 1883 and served until 1888. In 1884 Rev. Th. J. Skjei was called to serve in Cass and Richland counties and later he served in Griggs, Nelson, Steele and Grand Forks counties. The same year (1884),

⁸⁵ See the account of Rev. Anderson's work, p. 253.

⁸⁶ Rev. Th. J. Skjei was born in Trondhjem, Norway, March 18, 1854, and came to America in 1874. He was ordained in 1884.

Rev. J. F. Adrianson was called to take charge of congregations in Turtle Mountains, where settlements were being made at this time. The following year Rev. P. C. Rømo came to Grafton and two years later Rev. G. Westerland came to Rutland. In 1887 Rev. C. C. Gjerstad came to Mayville and the following year Rev. J. J. Breidablik came to take charge of congregations temporarily in the southeastern part of the state. In 1889 Rev. B. J. Reitan came to Traill county, Rev. O. O. Svingen to Bottineau county, and Rev. J. J. Eske to Ransom county.

From 1889 Hauge's synod increased rapidly in North Dakota. In 1906 it consisted of 66 congregations in this state of which 41 had erected churches.⁸⁷ Ten years later it numbered 103 congregations and 12 additional churches had been built. The total membership of Hauge's synod in North Dakota in 1916 was 5799.⁸⁸ The following year the organization was dissolved to become a part of the Norwegian Lutheran church of America.

The six pastors who were members of the Anti-Missourian brotherhood came to North Dakota between the years 1886 and 1890.⁸⁹ In 1890 these

⁸⁷ *Bureau of Census*, 1906, *Religious bodies*, Part I., p. 246.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, 1916, Part I., p. 206.

⁸⁹ In 1886 Rev. E. T. Rogne, in 1887 Rev. H. J. Jahren and Rev. Th. H. Larson, in 1888 Rev. J. D. Swalstuen and P. A. Thoresen, and in 1889 Rev. R. A. Lavik.

pastors became members of the United Norwegian Lutheran church.

In 1871 the Norwegian synod also had its beginnings in the Red River valley. That year the Trysil congregation was organized on the Red river, west of Georgetown. Ole Strandvold, who for many years served as vice president for this congregation, was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the organization.

The decline in the numbers of pastors who came to North Dakota during the latter eighties, was due to the schism which took place within the Norwegian synod.

In 1906 the Norwegian synod had 180 congregations in North Dakota with 80 churches. In 1916 this body had 204 congregations with 140 churches and total membership of 15,042.⁹⁰ In 1917 the Norwegian synod became part of the Norwegian Lutheran church of America.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Bureau of Census, 1906, Religious bodies*, Pt. 1., pp. 206 and 246.

⁹¹ In 1872 four congregations were organized in Cass county and two in Richland county. Rev. K. Bjørge, Rev. L. J. Markhus, Rev. T. L. A. K. Carlson, Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker and Rev. Vettlesen made trips from the various places in Minnesota where they were serving congregations. In 1873 Rev. J. A. Hellestvedt came to the settlements in these two counties serving the churches of this synod until 1889. In 1874 Rev. B. Harstad came to Traill county and organized the work of the Norwegian synod in this and surrounding counties. The following year Rev. Pall Thorlakson came to the Icelandic settlements in the northern part of the Red River valley. In 1876 Rev. N. J. Forde came to serve in the district south of Fargo and in 1878 Rev. J. Bale came to Hickson. The following year Rev. R. J. Wisnaes succeeded Rev. J. A. Hellestvedt, Rev. P. O. Strømme came to Traill county and Rev. O. H. Aaberg to Grand Forks county. In 1880 Rev. C. A. Flaten came to Hoople and Rev. J. G. D. Bothne to Ransom county. In 1881 Rev. C. J. M. Gronlid came to serve con-

The Conference began its work in the Red River valley in 1872. Rev. B. Hagboe organized the Aal congregation on the Goose river that year and during the territorial period this body was represented by congregations in all the counties in the Red River valley.⁹²

In 1875 Rev. P. A. T. Nykreim came to assist Rev. Hagboe and in 1878 Rev. Ch. I. Wold came to work in the southern part of the Red River settlement. In 1881 Rev. J. I. Lønne came to the Hillsboro and the following year Rev. I. Lundebry came to the Sheyenne river settlement. That year Rev. L. C. Hill and Rev. C. L. Hoff served temporarily, west of Fargo. In 1884 Rev. J. H. Brono came to Cass county and Rev. O. S. Haukum came to Walsh county. In 1885 Rev. O. K. Kvamme and Rev. J. G. Omland were added to the Conference pastors in the Red River valley. In 1887 Rev. B. Tollefson and Rev. O. K. Anderson, in 1888 Rev. J. U. Pedersen, Rev. H. Langeland, and Rev. J. A.

gregations in Grand Forks and Nelson counties. In 1882 Rev. H. B. Thorgrimson succeeded Rev. Pall Thorlakson in the work among the Icelanders, Rev. F. Jorgenson came to Grand Forks and Rev. S. Hansen to Grafton. In 1883 Rev. M. C. Holseth, Rev. G. A. Larsen, and Rev. Johannes Halvorson were added to the pastors serving in the Red River valley. In 1884 Rev. P. A. Rondestvedt, Rev. S. O. Braaten and Rev. O. C. Gronvold came. In 1884 Rev. J. J. Ringstad and C. G. Seltreit were added. In 1886 Rev. J. M. O. Ness, Rev. P. T. P. Langemo, Rev. H. Allen, Rev. S. Svenningsen and Rev. T. S. Reishus came to serve congregations in North Dakota, all of which were located in the eastern part of the state with the exception of Rev. T. S. Reishus' churches, which were located on the Mouse river. In 1887 Rev. H. Langemo arrived, in 1889 Rev. O. P. Vangsness, and in 1890 Rev. John Tinglestad came to Traill county.

⁹² Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, pp. 120-244.

Ofstedal, and in 1889 Rev. A. A. Brunsvold were added to the number of conference pastors in North Dakota.

In 1890 after the union with the conference and the Anti-Missourian brotherhood the United Norwegian Lutheran church was until 1917 the largest of the Norwegian church bodies in this state. In 1916 this church contained 308 congregations with 245 churches and a membership of 23,950.⁹³

In 1906 the Lutheran Free church which had formerly been a part of the Conference, consisted of 90 congregations, with 41 churches, and in 1916 numbered 97 congregations with 71 churches and a total membership of 5,593.⁹⁴

The Lutheran Brethren which had been organized in 1900 consisted of five congregations with three churches in 1906, and ten congregations with eight churches in 1916, and a total membership of 412 that year.⁹⁵

There are at present in North Dakota 189 pastors serving in the Norwegian Lutheran church, 41 in the Lutheran Free church and 6 in the Lutheran Brethren, making a total of 236 Norwegian Lutheran pastors in this state. Besides these there are 13 pastors serving in the Swedish Augustana synod, five Danish pastors

⁹³ *Bureau of the Census, 1916, Religious Bodies, Pt. I., 206.*

⁹⁴ *Ib., 1906, Religious Bodies, Pt. I., p. 246.*

⁹⁵ *Ib., Pt. I., p. 206.*

and one Icelandic pastor, making a total of 255 Scandinavian pastors. There are thus a total of 366 Lutheran pastors serving in North Dakota of which number approximately two thirds are Norwegian Lutherans.⁹⁶

The present problems of the church are caused by the changing conditions to which it must be adjusted. The language question is probably the most difficult to solve. In order to satisfy the founders and the immigrants, as well as to care for the growing generation, the use of two languages is essential. Of late years a great work has been accomplished in translating text books, hymns and other material to be used for the English services. The rapidly changing situation has made old pastors obsolete in many places and on the other hand it has placed the burden of mastering a foreign tongue upon many younger clergymen.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ In addition to this there are 60 pastors of the Missouri synod, 35 of the Iowa synod and 18 of the Ohio synod, a total of 113 pastors serving in German Lutheran churches. There are two Finnish Lutheran pastors and two Independent Lutheran ministers, besides eight ministers serving in the Synod of the Northwest.

From materials furnished by Rev. I. D. Ylvisaker, Fargo, N. D.

⁹⁷ Between the years 1843 and 1913, 1694 Norwegian Lutheran pastors had been in the service of the Norwegian Lutheran churches in America, 35% being college graduates. Among these, 140 held M. A. degrees, 15 M. D. or Ph. D. degrees, while only 13 had been awarded the title D. D.

Norlie, *Norsk Lutherske Prester i Amerika*, p. 591.

PIONEER EXPERIENCES

The following sketches are appended to supply the pioneer background of the church history. The sketches are only a meager handful of personal experiences, contributed by those who were sufficiently interested to aid the Society in compiling and publishing the territorial records of early days. This material is published in order to interest a wider circle of pioneers in the recording of their early frontier experiences. [Ed.]

PEER O. STRØMME

Among the Norwegian Lutheran pastors who have served in the Red River valley, few have attained the distinction and become so well known in outside circles as Peer Strømme, pastor, author, and journalist.

He was born in Winchester, Wisconsin, on September 15, 1856. From 1869 to 1876 he attended Luther College, received his B. A. degree and attended Concordia Seminary at St. Louis the same year. In 1879 he was ordained and came to the Red River valley where he served congregations on both sides of the river. During the years 1881-86 he was superintendent of schools in Norman county, Minnesota, besides having charge of his church work.

From Rev. Strømme's account of his experiences as pastor and school superintendent in the Red River valley, we learn much of the character of his work and of the people in the valley.

Immediately following his ordination in Northfield, Minnesota, Rev. Strømme, together with North Dakota's well known pioneer pastor, Rev. B. Harstad, left for the Red River valley. Arriving at Fargo the next day, they met many of the farmers from Rev. Harstad's congregations along the Goose river, who had come to town with

loads of wheat. With one of the farmers, the two clergymen rode out to Trysil settlement, some twenty miles north of Fargo. At night they stayed with Ole Strandvold, who usually accommodated the grain-haulers.

Rev. Strømme relates how Strandvold woke the men sleeping in the bed, to make room for the ministers. The floor as well as the whole yard being literally covered with sleeping farmers. The next day Elm river was reached, and by means of a ferry boat the clergymen crossed the Red river and proceeded to Hendrum. Rev. Strømme was called by the congregation at this place upon recommendation from Rev. Harstad. The latter then left for his home on the Goose river.

Besides serving congregations in Minnesota, Rev. Strømme was to act as an assistant to Rev. Harstad in serving the Trysil congregation on the Dakota side. The newly arrived pastor had to board around and no definite salary was promised. Sometime later he went to a place twenty miles south of Fargo where Rev. R. J. Wisnaes had just arrived. Here he bought a horse and in Fargo he procured an old buggy. The first ministerial duty which he performed was to baptize Lars Grøndahl, who afterwards graduated from St. Olaf College and later taught in the University of Washington.

In November the same year, Rev. Strømme attended a special conference meeting in Fargo. Among those present were the Lutheran pastors, B. Harstad, R. J. Wisnaes, A. K. Sagen, O. N. Fosmark and N. Førde. During the same month he went to Iowa and was there married to Laura Ericksen. Shortly afterwards the couple returned to the valley and on the way visited with John Torsgaard, one of the pioneers in Moorhead. In Hendrum they lived for the winter in a two-room log hut, sharing the kitchen with the owner.

He relates one incident occurring during that winter while visiting with Rev. Jens Bale, south of Fargo. The house had one room with an attic above, and a lean-to at one end. In using the attic bed room they had to climb upon the roof of the lean-to and thru a window. Three of them occupied this room and their bed was a heap of oat sacks.

The next spring the people of the congregation plowed twenty acres and built a log stable for him. Later Rev. Strømme built a frame house on the place. Lumber was bought in Moorhead and he made it into a raft and floated it down the Red river to Hendrum. The neighbors hauled the lumber to the building site and Rev. Strømme helped to build the house.

That summer the special conference for Red River valley was held at Rev. Harstad's home. Rev. T. Rosholdt came to this meeting with his family in a prairie schooner from Otter Tail county, Minnesota. Rev. Sagen drove from Twin Valley and Rev. K. Bjørge and K. L. Guttebo came from Lake Park.

Rev. Harstad had built an addition to his home and here he had established a boarding school. This later developed into the Bruflat Academy of Portland. Of this pioneer pastor Rev. Strømme says:

"Rev. Harstad was a man of whom a person could learn diligence and economy. For a number of years he had walked about on foot among his numerous congregations. Then he made a carriage by fastening a box between the wheels of an old cart. At one time I came across him on the bank of the Goose river where he was making coffee for his lunch. The wheels he had removed from his carriage and rolled into the water, so they could swell up and keep together until he reached his destination."⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Strømme, *Erindringer*, Minneapolis, 1923, 161.

He relates also how Rev. Harstad, after having organized congregations in the states, went to the Pacific coast and later to Alaska, where he served as a mission pastor, while digging gold. He also founded the Pacific Lutheran Academy in Tacoma.

In the fall of 1880 Rev. Strømme and his wife moved into their new house. The furniture was secured at Elm river. The Icelandic pioneer pastor, Pall Thorlakson, visited them on his way from Moorhead to Pembina county. A number of politicians, seeking offices, were also among the frequent visitors. At this time Rev. Strømme served, besides his own congregations, a German church near Marsh river.

Rev. Strømme attended a synod meeting in Decorah, Iowa, during the winter of 1881-2, and the train was snow-bound near Fergus Falls for three or four days. That winter he had many adventures in heavy snow storms. "One Sunday on the way to Marsh river a terrible blizzard set in and I lost my way and drove all day without finding any house. Finally towards evening I was so fortunate as to find a little hut, half covered with snow. There was no one at home, but I broke in and found also a straw stable back of the hut where my horse could be kept. Inside the hut there was an old rusty stove and also a little fire wood. In a hole under the floor I found a sack of meal and a piece of salt pork. I melted the snow and gave the horse water and straw, and mixed some meal and water and fried a sort of bread. There was plenty of pork. The storm lasted from Sunday until Wednesday or Thursday."⁹⁹

His experiences the following spring, when the snow melted, are equally interesting: "In the spring it was often still more difficult to get thru, especially when I should

⁹⁹ Strømme, *Erindringer*, 170.

cross over to Trysil. There was no bridge across the Red river between Fargo and Grand Forks, and sometimes the ferry by Elm river could not be used due to flood or floating ice. Many times have I swam over the river, even when the water was ice cold. Sometimes I could row the buggy over in a canoe and let the horse swim after. Once I was very near drowning. I had borrowed a poor canoe from a man near Perley, intending to get over to Lars Myhre's house in Trysil. It was in the spring flood, and in the center of the stream the canoe capsized. I let it drift and tried to swim ashore. But dressed in a heavy overcoat I soon became exhausted and had to call for help. Fortunately a man heard me, threw out a long rope and towed me ashore."¹⁰⁰

He tells also of the experiences of Rev. A. K. Sagen, who lived twenty miles east of Ada. He tried to swim his horses over the river while they were hitched to the wagon. The wagon box as not watertight and soon filled with water. It was with great difficulty that the horses got ashore on one side and Rev. Sagen on the other.

In the summer of 1881 the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railway gave an excursion to the newspapermen in western Minnesota and Rev. Strømme took this opportunity to meet many prominent men. He tells of taking the strangers out along the woods of Marsh river and showing them the golden grain ready for harvest. Here a picnic dinner had been prepared and a number of speeches were made. Even Marcus Thrane, who was a member of the party, showed much courtesy toward Rev. Strømme, in spite of his general dislike for ministers. Rev. Strømme early made the acquaintance of senator Knute Nelson and gave him such assistance as he could in his political campaigns.

¹⁰⁰ Strømme, *Erindringer*, 170.

The agitation in 1881, which resulted in the division of Polk county, with all its political angles, is vividly described by Rev. Strømme in his memoirs. He was during this time county superintendent of schools, and he faithfully executed the duties of this office besides his regular work as pastor.

He relates an interesting trip which he took into western Dakota in 1882, with a young student, who was to teach under his supervision. They drove a fine team of Indian ponies and the Red river was crossed on a ferry at Hendrum, Minnesota. The first evening was spent at Rev. Harstad's home at Stony Point. The trip took them to Bachelor's Grove, McCanna, Park River and Grafton. At the last named place there were a number of unfinished houses and many tents, since the railway had just reached this point. A Danish minister, Søren Hansen, was then serving the Norwegian congregation there. Rev. Strømme and his companion stopped also at the home of Rev. H. O. Aaberg in Walle.

In the fall of 1882, Rev. Strømme was elected as one of the delegates to the Republican State convention, held that year at St. Paul.

Some of his contemporaries during the early part of his service were, Rev. J. O. Haugen of Fargo, Rev. C. J. Brønli in the vicinity of Northwood and Hatton and Rev. A. C. Anderson in Fisher, Minnesota. Later Rev. J. M. O. Ness came to serve congregations in Hendrum and Perley, Minnesota, and in Trysil on the Dakota side. In Ada the courthouse and schoolhouses were used for services. He speaks highly of the Presbyterian pastor Rev. Wells, and of Rev. Hunter, the Methodist pastor. These men with the aid of Fred Hampson, succeeded in driving the saloons out of Ada.

In 1885 he attended a church conference in Red Wing, Minnesota. At this gathering Rev. Muus, one of the found-

ers of the United Norwegian Lutheran church, made a statement in favor of church union. He said: "I would wish that we could get these Hauge's people with us. Their synod has in some respects acted unwisely, but I have always believed that they are better people than we are."¹⁰¹ At this time Rev. Strømme received a call from congregations in Buffalo county, Wisconsin. He accepted this call and held the pastorate here for two years. In 1887 he went to Northfield, Minnesota, as instructor in mathematics at St. Olaf College.

In January, 1888, Strømme was appointed editor of *Norden*, Chicago, in which position he remained for several years, during which period he found time to participate actively in a presidential campaign, and to make a trip to Norway. After having severed his connection with this paper he engaged for some time in the life insurance business, and then resumed his post as editor of *Norden*.

In 1892 Strømme became publisher and editor of *Superior Posten*, Superior, Wisconsin, and three years later was invited to become principal of a Lutheran academy at Mt. Horeb, Wis. But the journalistic urge was irresistible, and in 1896 Strømme assumed the editorship of *Amerika*, which he retained until 1898. For some time he was editorial writer on the staff of the *Minneapolis Times*, then for a brief period editor of the *Minneapolis Star*, and shortly after 1902 editor of *Vor Tid*. During the remaining period of his life Strømme devoted all his time and his work to free lance literary and journalistic work, and in the autumn of 1909 he became editor of *Normanden*, Grand Forks, in the interest of which paper he made a trip around the world. Although relinquishing the editorship in 1916, Strømme remained a regular contributor to *Normanden* until the time

¹⁰¹ Strømme, *Erindringer*, 204.

of his death, September 15, 1921, and the greater part of his *Erindringer*, "Reminiscences", was first published serially in that paper.

REV. S. O. BRAATEN

Rev. S. O. Braaten was born in Thorpe, Hallingdal, Norway, Feb. 9, 1852. With his parents, Ole Halstensen and Ambjørge (Braaten) he came to America in 1856.¹⁰² He attended St. Olaf College in 1874-5, and Luther College 1875-8, and from the latter he received his B. A. degree. From 1881 to 1884 he attended Luther Seminary. He served as a pastor in what is now North Dakota for nearly forty years, residing for the greater part of the time on his farm near Thompson, N. Dak.

Rev. Braaten was a member of the committee which revised the *Landstads Salmebog*.¹⁰³ He has also composed a number of hymns and verses. In September, 1884, he came to Dakota and was ordained by Rev. Harstad the day after his arrival. He was at once called to assist Rev. M. C. Holseth, who was organizing and serving congregations in Walsh, Grand Forks, Nelson and Cavalier counties.

¹⁰² When three and a half years old Rev. Braaten was taken by his parents to Goodhue county, Minnesota. In a little log cabin he spent his childhood days. He was nine years of age at the time of the Civil War, and he remembers the refugees from St. Peter and New Ulm who came to Goodhue county to seek shelter from the Indians. One of these families enjoyed the hospitality of Braaten's home. But he believed in the innate honesty of the Indians and always trusted them. He is quoted as saying: "We went fishing and hunting together with the Indian boys, my brother and I, and we often wrestled with them, but they were fine fellows. Father once traded muskets with an Indian, who, to show his satisfaction with the bargain, brought a half of a deer to our house some time later. The Indian women used to borrow pans and kettles from mother, and they always brought them back. I remember once when there were eleven Indians in our home at the same time but they never annoyed us."

¹⁰³ The official church hymn book.

For some time he stayed with Rev. Hølseth who lived in a small frame house near the junction of Grand Forks, Nelson and Walsh counties. A small sod stable was used to shelter his ponies. At one time during the fall of 1884 Rev. Braaten was surrounded by a prairie fire that swept the country between Niagara and Dahlen in Nelson county. He drove his Indian ponies thru the fire and managed to keep his appointment as usual.¹⁰⁴

Rev. Braaten preached at Elk Valley and at Bachelor's Grove, fifteen miles north of Larimore. A homemade skisled was used in traversing the snow fields, and his Indian ponies, for which he had paid \$150, did good service.

In 1884 he was called to succeed Rev. O. H. Aaberg in Walle township, Grand Forks county, at a salary of \$300. Rev. Aaberg followed the frontier westward to Devils Lake and organized the settlers into congregations. Rev. Braaten has since resided on his farm and he has served the Hoiland, Walle, Nazareth and Rosendal congregations from this point.

In the early days meetings were held in school houses and private homes and these meeting places were generally overcrowded. Norwegian was used exclusively, but at times others than Norwegians would attend services. He speaks of the hospitality which existed among the people in the pioneer days, of the elaborate feasts prepared at weddings, which was customary in Norway. This latter custom Rev. Braaten opposed and it was soon discontinued. He said to the writer:

"We celebrated the Fourth of July and the seventeenth

¹⁰⁴ His trial sermon (indtrædelses prædiken) was given in M. N. Johnson's house in Petersburg. Mrs. Johnson offered to let him use the sewing machine for a pulpit. The audience consisted of M. N. Johnson and wife, Rev. Hølseth, Rev. Svenungsen and Rev. Peterson, the last named being the man for whom Petersburg was named.

of May and generally had enjoyable times. The people who lived along the Red river were mostly from Sætersdalen, Norway. Small-pox had raged here just before I came and for some years many died of tuberculosis. There were also a number from Valdres, Hallingdal and Sogn, Norway, in the community. Most of them lived in small log huts with sod roof.

"I have been out in many blizzards, lost my way on the prairie, letting the horses find their way as best they could, that was in the early days before we got roads. At one time, in crossing a washout, I was obliged to unhook my team, gather up a few of the loose planks which had been part of the wooden culvert, and place them across the cut. Then I led one horse at a time over this emergency bridge, and pulled the buggy over by hand afterwards."¹⁰⁵ The old settlers still tell how he was respected among the frontiersmen. When celebrations were too lively as the men became intoxicated, the threat: "We will send for Braaten," would disperse the crowd, for his word carried weight.¹⁰⁶

Rev. Braaten tells of the experiences he had as an assistant of Rev. Holseth during his first years in Dakota: "We usually drove some twenty-five miles, where one could stop and conduct services, the other proceeding to a more outlying district, to preach, instruct confirmants, conduct

¹⁰⁵ "In 1887 or 1888, only a mile east of my home I came near being drowned, out on the prairie five miles from the river. A crossing had been washed out and the water was muddy so I could not see the bottom. When I tried to cross the buggy was upset and the girl who was with me, fell into the water. When I tried to save her I was unable to reach bottom and it was a narrow escape for both of us.

"In the winter time the long grass and weeds, which grew along the graded roads gathered a lot of snow, and it was difficult to cross the ridge without getting the team stuck in the drift. At times it was so bad that I had to unhitch the horses and lead them across, one at a time, and then drag the sleigh over."

¹⁰⁶ Rev. Braaten was an athlete, tall and fine looking.

wedding ceremonies, then back to pick up the other and set out for home." These two often drove fifty miles after services and found their way home about midnight.

"At one place, these (geistlige) dignified lords and their horses were taken in thru the same door, the horses eating hay and oats by one side of the sod wall while these honorable prelates ate wheat bread by the other wall of the same sod hut.

"The assistant being a six footer, when he held his trial sermons in the early days, would often on becoming enthusiastic, reach up and strike the roof of the sod hut with his head. The roof consisted of hay underneath with sod above, and every time he struck it, a load of 'real estate' came down inside his collar.

"When these 'prelates' were at home they were building stables for their cows and horses, for the winter. These were made of logs. The cracks between the logs were to be plastered and the roof covered with sod. Clay from the wall served as plaster. To make this stick one would throw it into the cracks from the outside, the other from the inside.

"Ski sleds were made from split logs, and used for travel but the pastors with their wives would often go coasting on them for recreation. The house in which they lived was not windproof and a flatiron had to be placed on each corner of the rug to keep it from flying up in the air."¹⁰⁷

REV. TH. K. GAUSTAD

Rev. Th. K. Gaustad was born in Rennebu Stift, Dalene, Trondhjem, Norway, March 1, 1857. His parents were Knut Gaustad and Randi (Ericksen). He attended public school and also a military preparatory school in Norway. In 1881 he came to America and made his home in Minne-

¹⁰⁷ *Fram*, Fargo, June 6, 1912.

sota. He attended Augsburg Seminary, taking a four year literary course and the three year theological course. He graduated in 1888 and was at once ordained, serving as pastor at Vining, Minnesota, for five years. He married Julia Nilsen in 1891. They have three children, two of whom have had a college education.¹⁰⁸ In 1893 he received a call from Sims, N. Dak., where he organized and served congregations in many counties along the Missouri river. He organized one congregation at Driscoll where he bought a school house, which is still used as a church. Another congregation was organized by him at Parkin, thirty miles south of Mandan where he built a fine church which he dedicated himself. He built a new church at Sims and at Taylor and laid the corner-stone for the new church at Belfield. At Glendive, Montana, he also started a congregation. In 1906 he moved to Enderlin, where he is at present (1923) serving congregations.

Rev. Gaustad writes of his organization work:

"In 1893, when I came to Sims to take up the ministerial duties there, besides work in Mandan and Taylor, all was like a wilderness, no churches anywhere. The first services in Sims were held upstairs in a private house where I lived, and when a child was to be baptized we had to go to the kitchen. The people were poor, but religiously inclined.

"My wife organized the Ladies Aid society, and then began the work to have a church built. This was brought about as follows. After an unnatural and artificial boom, Sims had gone backward, consequently a great number of large buildings stood vacant and advertised for sale, due to the fact that the taxes had not been paid. I bought a hotel on which the taxes amounted to \$200 and received a deed for it. The day after a German offered me \$500 for it.

¹⁰⁸ Lounsberry, *History of North Dakota*, Chicago, 1917, Vol. II., 334.

I called the Norwegians together and offered them the building for \$200, on the condition that they would remodel it into a church, otherwise I would sell it to Zimmerman for \$500. Our people accepted the offer with great enthusiasm and began the reconstruction work. Men and women worked each their own way, and after two years' time the church was finished and it was dedicated by Pres. T. H. Dahl of the United Norwegian Lutheran church, and nine assisting pastors. The church bells were rung the evening before and this was the first time people had heard a church-bell west of the Missouri river. The church is still being used in 1923. The same was true in Taylor, where the new church was dedicated at the same time as in Sims.

"My wife who had graduated from the high school in Fergus Falls, Minnesota, and later had attended the University of Minnesota, had the school graded and for many years served as principal. Under her supervision the first 8th grade class was examined. Later she was asked to consider the position as superintendent of schools for Morton county, but this offer we could not accept. Later she helped improve the schools both in Taylor and in Belfield. She took care of the schools while I traveled and organized congregations where that was possible and preached in places where there were too few to constitute any organization. Morton and Stark counties constituted my main districts, but I also traveled regularly in Burleigh, Kidder, Oliver and Mercer counties. In Glendive, Montana, I baptized twenty-seven children on one Sunday. I was out at Miles City, Montana, when I married couples and baptized children. When I came to a place near Heart river, now in Grant county, the people told me that they had not seen a Norwegian minister for 14 years. Down at Fort Yates and

Parkin I organized a congregation and built and dedicated a beautiful church.

"At some places I was welcome and was received with joy. Some would rather not have me come. I once came to a Norwegian, north of Helson, N. Dak., to a place called Farmer's Valley. I had stayed over night with a German ten miles from that place. He had given me a list of Norwegian names. One of these who had come from Wisconsin, when I greeted him and told him who I was and what I wanted, answered: 'Ministers and machine agents ought to be driven out of the country'. When I asked him what reason he had for wanting to exile me and if he understood what it meant to threaten a peaceful man with persecution, his wife, who stood in the doorway, reprimanded him for his bad conduct. After a time we became friends and he signed the list pledging himself to assist in forming a congregation.

"I remember once during the June floods, I was called to a funeral. I came to Marmarth, but the Heart river was so swollen that it was impossible to ford with a buggy. The current was too strong. I then removed my clothes, tied them on a pole and waded across holding my clothes above my head. The water was more than waist-deep, but I got across safely, dressed and proceeded to the services.

"It was a dog's life, but I never forgot that I was a pastor, and a pastor is not useful in proportion to what he receives, but what he gives and sacrifices. I have the satisfaction of being the first one out there and those who come after must always build up on what I did. Now there are nine or ten pastors in the district in which I was alone during thirteen and one-half years.

"After I came to Enderlin I built a new church and completed two half-finished ones. I have had three church

dedications since I came here. Now we are three ministers serving where I was alone for twelve years.”¹⁰⁹

REV. N. TH. YLVISAKER

Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker was one of the early mission pastors to visit the Red River valley.¹¹⁰ Although not a resident pastor here he was able to do good service in ministering to the wants of the pioneers, and by organizing congregations during the visits which he made to Dakota.

On Sept. 10, 1872, he left his home in Goodhue Co., Minnesota, for the Red River valley. He went to Breckenridge, the end of the St. Paul and Pacific railway, and the same evening he took the stage to Moorhead on the Northern Pacific railway. Of his new field he says:

“In spite of all the sin and godlessness, which reigned there, of which the saloons and other disreputable places testified, I still met countrymen who heartily rejoiced at my coming. In the town there is not more than one bonafide Norwegian family, the one which entertained me,

¹⁰⁹ Translation of a letter received from Rev. Th. K. Gaustad, Enderlin, March 31, 1923.

¹¹⁰ Rev. N. Th. Ylvisaker was born in Sogndal, midtre Sogn, Bergen, Feb., 11, 1832. His parents were Thorbjørn and Sigrid Ylvisaker. As a boy he attended “Omgangs-Skole”, which was held in the community, but while out coasting one day he broke his leg, and was for a long time after confined to his bed. Being taken care of by a friend he came under his influence and decided to devote his life to a worthy cause. He began to study and was assisted by the parish “Klokker.” Later he sought private instruction in mathematics, history and German, under the tutorship of Rev. Olson and Captain Gill. He took up work as a lay-preacher (Opbyggelses-Prædikant”) and in the service of the mission society of Norway, and of Trondhjem. In 1886 he came to Red Wing, Minnesota, where he was ordained by the Norwegian synod. He served congregations at that place besides Zumbrota and Minneapolis. During this time he made several missionary journeys to Dakota territory. He also wrote, *Evangeliets Væsen og Virkning, Sex Prædikener, and Om Absolutionen.*

but there are a large number of working people. The town including the Dakota side, Fargo, has undoubtedly a promising future."¹¹¹

Peder Nokken, who knew Rev. Ylvisaker in Norway as well as in Goodhue Co., opened his home for services; he was assisted by Peter Ingebrightson, a business man there.

The day after Rev. Ylvisaker's arrival Peter Ingebrightson arranged services for him. When the meeting was over Rev. Ylvisaker went to Buffalo river and held services there. He says: "On September 17, I preached at Germund Storasli's on Buffalo river. Most of the settlers there, besides Rev. Hagboe of the Conference, were present. The greater number of them had been members of the synod, but had secured Rev. Hagboe for a year."¹¹²

His mission work next took him farther north and west. He says: "After being the object of a great deal of hospitality, I left Moorhead the same evening with the stage. It was packed full of drunken railroad workers, both Irish and Norwegians, who were shouting, cursing and singing. I was bound for Fort Abercrombie, and from that place, after a couple of hours rest, with the pack on my back as in olden days I went on to the Norwegian settlement on the Wild Rice river, southwest of the fort at this place. There was no hard and fast organization and the people had been visited by many pastors. I was received with a friendly spirit. All the settlers were sent for by messengers, the settlement is not very large, and the majority came to the services. After the meeting was over the audience decided to organize a congregation, which, together with Norwegian synod congregations farther north, were to have the same pastor.

"There are others now in the Red River valley south

¹¹¹*Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*, March 14, 1879.

¹¹²*Ib.*, March 14, 1879.

of the Northern Pacific railway, four congregations to which practically all the Norwegian settlers adhere, with the exception of a small Ellinganer congregation, asking to be served from our synod.

"Farther north there were some families who wished to have the services of a Norwegian synod pastor, but most of the men folks were out teaming, so I was unable to bring about any gathering. The settlers were in a depressed condition, due to the destruction of all their crops for a number of years by grasshoppers.

"Although it became known to me that Rev. Hagboe had perfected organizations farther north, I wanted to use the opportunity to see the land and the people. From the 19th to the 24th of September I traversed the Goose River settlement in Dakota and the Sand Hill and Marsh rivers in Minnesota. In many places there had been organized *Free Congregations*, where Rev. Hagboe had been hired to serve at least for a year."¹¹³

Jens Gaarden, a friend from Norway, took him with his team from Moorhead to the Sheyenne river. Services were held in Helge Gulliksen's home, and the next day he was at Wild Rice river, where two services were held.

On October 3, he went back to Moorhead and in the evening conducted a well-attended service. After the meeting, the Moorhead Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran congregation was organized, a constitution was adopted and officers were chosen.

Rev. Ylvisaker, together with Rev. K. Bjørge of Lake Park, Minnesota, had been requested by the Synod in 1874

¹¹³ *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*, March 14, 1879.

to make a trip to the Goose river.¹¹⁴ The two clergymen consented to go although they were not allowed their expenses. They left Fargo on the 6th of July, having received a horse and buggy from some friends of the cause. At 10 o'clock in the evening of the first day, they had reached Elm river, having been refused lodging where they intended to stop. The two pastors missed the evening meal and were obliged to sleep on the floor. The shack had no windows and no screens and the mosquitoes were troublesome. The next morning the hungry travelers got a little to eat and went on their journey. At the end of the second day they reached Ingebret Larson's house, near Gran church, on the Goose river. Here fine hospitality was shown, and at his home services were held on the 9th. Rev. Ylvisaker preached the sermon and Rev. Bjørge performed a marriage ceremony. A few days later the clergymen gathered a number of settlers in S. N. Heskin's new house where services were held.¹¹⁵

Revs. Ylvisaker and Bjørge continued their journey to the region about Caledonia. They endured many hardships on their journey, twice traveling all day without food. One night they were unable to get any lodging and they slept on the prairie.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Rev. K. Bjørge was born in Evanger, Voss, Bergen, October 2, 1847. His parents were Knut Bjørge and Gertrud (Magnussen). He came to America in 1848. From 1864 to 1870 he attended Luther College receiving his B.A. He then took the three year theological course at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, from which he graduated in 1873 and was ordained the same year. He served for fifteen years as pastor in Lake Park, Minnesota, and from 1888 for a number of years in Red Wing. He was district president of the Minnesota Circuit of the Norwegian synod, and served on various committees in that body.

¹¹⁵ The Heskins had just arrived a few days before with their stock and property from Black Earth, Wisconsin.

¹¹⁶ From an interview with Rev. A. Lien of Portland, N. D.

REV. J. J. RINGSTAD

Rev. J. J. Ringstad, who has spent thirty-five years of active service in the ministry in this state, came to Dakota in 1885.¹¹⁷

His territory included the northwest corner of Grand Forks county, the northeast corner of Nelson county, and the western part of Walsh county. It extended northeast from Conway, and northwest from Lakota as far as the settlements reached.¹¹⁸

Rev. Ringstad says concerning organization work in the early days: "There were many places where services were held, but where no congregation was organized. In some instances services were held at several places within the same congregation. All the members were foreign-born, having been originally Scandinavian immigrants. Sometimes a few Americans would attend services.

"The biggest problem for us to solve in those early days was to decide where the church should be built. Later the language has been the chief annoyance, for it is difficult to satisfy both the immigrants and the younger generation.

"In the early days the houses were few and far between. Often at night during summer time I had to tie the horse to a long rope, so he could graze, while I slept under a blanket on the open prairie. In order to cover these vast

¹¹⁷ Rev. J. J. Ringstad was born in Fron, Gudbrandsdalen, Hamar, July 16, 1858. His parents were Johannes Anderson and Anna (Erikson). In 1873 he came to America and five years later he entered Luther College. He attended Concordia Seminary, Springfield, one year and Luther Seminary two years. From the latter he graduated in 1885 and came to North Dakota that same year. In 1920 he retired from active work, due to failing health. He is at present, 1923, living at Petersburg, N. D.

¹¹⁸ Rev. Ringstad has promoted the building of four churches, one in East Forest River, Walsh county, one in Elk Valley, Grand Forks county, one in Petersburg and one in Zion, five miles northeast of McVile in Nelson county.

stretches, which I had to traverse, I often had to drive all day, and I generally drove more at night than during the day. There were no roads by which we could guide ourselves, so we used to ask for the directions and then head straight for our destination, until we had to stop in at another sod hut for further direction.

"I often ate only one meal a day on those trips, for many people had brought an awe inspiring respect for the officials, with them from Norway, and considered their food too plain a diet for a clergyman. This was especially true among the bachelors, and I did not like to ask for food.

"In the winter time the frost on these prairies was terrible. Especially was this felt when a person had to sit in a sleigh for hours at a time, driving against the wind. Many times I slept on the floor of the sod huts, with only my blanket to cover me. People were so poor that they were barely able to exist. The sod huts were fairly warm and fuel was used only for cooking.

"I froze my hands several times and after those long trips all day out in the cold, I was sometimes so stiff from frost that I could hardly get into the house when I reached home. My wife used to come out and put the team in the barn.

"The coulies would usually drift full of snow causing me much trouble whenever I had to cross one. When I came to Petersburg, there was nothing but a depot and a blacksmith shop there. The farmers were breaking the land and needed sharp plowshares, hence the early appearance of these shops. Elling and Nils Mørk had a cattle ranch at Stump Lake."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ From an interview with Rev. J. J. Ringstad, Petersburg, N. D.

REV. BERSVEND ANDERSON

The early activities of Hauge's synod in North Dakota are largely the work of the pioneer pastor, Bersvend Anderson. He was born December 7, 1821, in Krogen, Bardø the inner mission among the fishermen of Nordland. During the summer months his time was mostly taken up by farming and most of the winter season was devoted to fishing. But he found time to move about among his fellow fishing folk, preaching to them. He traveled on skis through Lofoten, Senjen, Vesteraalen and Salten during these 25 years in Nordland. The evils which he opposed here were, the gambler, the liquor traffic, and the wage sharks, who were always ready to rob the fishermen of their earnings.

In 1876 he immigrated to America with his family. He filed on a homestead near Crookston and began to travel about among the pioneers here and gather them for devotional meetings as he had done in Norway. In the spring of 1877 he walked to Fargo and thence to Froen's congregation, some forty miles all told, to visit some of his friends from Norway who had settled there.

He also visited the Hemnes congregation and held meetings. These congregations requested him to seek ordination so he could serve as their pastor, but he hesitated to accept. At Christmas time he paid them another visit and they renewed the request. Rev. O. Kaasa, who had previously served these congregations twice a year, met Anderson on one of his trips in Otter Tail county, and advised him to yield to the request of the Dakota congregations.

In the spring of 1878 Anderson obtained an officially signed call from these churches, requesting Hauge's synod

to ordain him as their pastor. From the time of his ordination in 1878, Rev. Anderson was the only pastor representing Hauge's synod in the Red River valley for six years. Beginning with the two small congregations, consisting of Nordlandings who called him thither, his field of activities grew steadily. Within a short time he held regular services in five counties in northern Minnesota and still more in North Dakota.¹²⁰ He traveled almost continually, in the winter on skis or on foot.

He gathered the Haugeans for meetings whenever he came into a neighborhood where they were to be found. Services were held in the homes and lunch was generally served afterwards. This was a tradition with these people, which had developed during the Haugean revival in Norway, when strangers came for long distances to attend meetings and this hospitality was depended on.

In 1886 he called the first general meeting (Samtale-møde) of those who could attend from his own or other congregations in the Red River valley. The meetings were held in the congregations which called him, and this brought together people from the fourteen congregations which he served at the time. His aim was to get unified action of the Christians from the various Lutheran bodies. In 1891 he founded the layman's paper, *Vidnesbyrd fra Broderkredsen*, and edited it during the two first years.

He did not like to be bound by time and space. "When there already had arrived many who had taken up the work after me in the northwestern states, I refused a permanent call, and became free and at leisure, but traveled whenever I was able, mostly upon invitations from the brethren."¹²¹ In this he voiced the sentiments of most pioneer pastors.

¹²⁰ Anderson, *Ungdommens Ven*, Minneapolis, June 15, 1914.

¹²¹ *Ib.*, June 15, 1914.

After serving in the Red River valley for sixteen years, at the ripe old age of seventy-three he went to Alberta, Canada, where his son and son-in-law had filed on land. Arriving there in the fall of 1894 he preached his first sermon in his son's (Peder Anderson) claim shanty on All Souls Sunday. For four or five years he was the only minister there and he traveled far and wide as he had done previously in this country.

REV. S. S. WOLD

Rev. S. S. Wold tells of the religious activities in the southern part of Nelson county, where he has been actively engaged in the ministry during the last twenty-five years.¹²²

When Rev. Wold was called to North Dakota, the Sundahl congregation, in Aneta, contained but nine families but Rev. Wold had the church equipped and paid for, and when he resigned, after serving for seven years, there were forty-five families in the congregation. In 1899, Our Savior's congregation, at Sogn, built a church which was dedicated the following year, in spite of a crop failure.

On August 3, 1916, the Sigdal church building blew

¹²² Rev. S. S. Wold was born in Stange, Hedemarken, Hamar in Norway, on February 25, 1861, of the parents Simon and Helene Wolden. For three years, prior to the year in which he emigrated, Wold attended the Officers Training School at Frederikshald.

In 1882, he came to Rock Prairie, Wisconsin, where he taught in a church school for fourteen years and led the singing in the Luther Valley church. For teaching he was paid \$1.00 a day and board, and for his musical work \$50 a year.

In 1886, he sold books for his brother, Rev. A. Wold, who was at that time serving congregations in Richland county. The following year he taught at a church school and assisted Rev. J. A. Bergh, in Superior, Wisconsin, at \$30 a month and board.

In 1896 he entered the United Church Seminary where he attended until 1898, when he was ordained and sent to North Dakota, to take charge of four congregations.

down, the pulpit and the bell only being saved.¹²³ Rev. Wold began gathering funds for the erection of a new church, during one week raising \$9,300 by subscription from the members and the new church was built in 1917. Sleyenne congregation built two churches and a parsonage besides buying a forty acre farm for the minister.

The territory in which Rev. Wold worked included for a number of years the southern half of Nelson county, with a distance of fifty miles between the families on the two extremes. During one year he drove nearly six thousand miles, between his home and the places where he held regular services, besides all other trips which he made, visiting the sick, instructing confirmants and attending other meetings.

Rev. Wold was the first minister to preach in McVille. He organized a congregation there and one in Pekin, and held services in Tolna and McHenry.¹²⁴

REV. S. L. TALLAKSON

Rev. S. L. Tallakson thus describes the present day pioneer work of the church on the frontier:¹²⁵

"During the summer of 1907 and 1908 I worked as a student assistant to Rev. Olaf Ylvisaker in Williams county, in Crosby and vicinity. The church was built of rough lumber and tar paper was nailed on the outside. It

¹²³ The parsonage is located on forty acres of land owned by the Sheyenne congregation, three miles south of Pekin. The Sigdal church was ten miles west of the parsonage.

¹²⁴ From an interview with Rev. Wold, 1923, at his home in Pekin, N. D.

¹²⁵ Rev. S. L. Tallakson was born near Willmar, Minnesota, 1884. He attended Willmar Seminary from 1900 to 1902, and Luther College from 1902 to 1906, receiving his B.A. degree from the latter place. From 1906 to 1909 he attended Luther Seminary, at the end of which time he was called to serve four congregations near Roseau, Minnesota. He served the First Lutheran church of Grand Forks in 1923, and is now located at Thief River Falls, Minnesota.

was approximately sixteen by thirty feet, without a steeple, and covered with a slightly rounded roof somewhat on the order of a squatter's cabin. All the furniture was home-made. A lot and a barn were provided for the pastor and his assistant, who were cared for in the homes of the members. A baseball diamond was located close by the church, which often caused inconvenience to the congregation during services. At Colgant services were held in a store and postoffice, the farmers traded and had their mail distributed before services began. Then they sat on boxes, kegs, and flour sacks while the pastor preached the sermon.

"Christianson, a former rancher near Colgant, told me how he and his neighbors were compelled to take their herds westward by the advent of the plow.

"Rev. Olaf Ylvisaker and I used to conduct services in the sod huts. The settlers used to hang cardboard on a wire inside their huts, then paste colored paper outside of this to make the place look more cheerful and homelike."

"The services were often held during the summer months, the pastor occupying the place in the doorway, for half of the audience were inside the hut, the others sitting on the grass outside. Some of the settlers rode horseback, some walked and others drove with oxen. The latter used a stone boat on which they placed a grocery box for a seat. This vehicle was fairly serviceable on the slippery prairie grass, but it was easily upset by gopher hills.

"Farther east, at Nonen, services were held in a warehouse. The pulpit consisted of a grocery box raised up on one end, and the people sat on sugar sacks and boxes. It was a distance of twelve miles to this place and we generally used a buggy and a broncho team to get there. At times we rode bicycles with a third wheel rail attach-

ment which enabled us to use the railroad track. At times we had a saddle horse. A Presbyterian pastor, who had filed on a homestead there, served at several places as a circuit rider.

"The settlers were anxious to have their children instructed in religion, but conveniences were not always the best. I taught at three different places, giving instruction in catechism, Bible history, church history, and Norwegian. At one place a granary was used for a school house, planks serving as seats. A fanning mill was stowed in one corner and a barrel of oil in another. During the school hours the farmer's hogs found shade and comfort under the floor, much to the annoyance of both teacher and pupils.

"The fact that several synods were operating in the same field caused some duplication and strife. Ofttimes one pastor, with his flock, would wait outside the school house where the meeting was to be held, while the other pastor concluded his services, and people would meet, while going to or coming from services. Since the congregations were small and divided between several clergymen a spirit of unity could better be developed than in a large organization.¹²⁶

REV. BJUG HARSTAD

This prominent minister and educator of Parkland, Washington, is a native of Norway, born near Christiansand in 1848, and was about thirteen years old when his parents emigrated to this county in 1861. The family located in La Salle county, Illinois, on a farm, and this place was the scene of his boyhood experiences. His parents were poor, and he was forced at a very early age to earn

¹²⁶ From a personal interview with Rev. S. L. Tallakson.

his own living. He was from the first consumed with a thirst for knowledge and an ambition to become a minister. To accomplish this he entered the Lutheran college at Decorah, Iowa, where he studied for six years, in the meantime supporting himself by farm work. He graduated in 1871 and then went to St. Louis. Here the next three years were spent in the preparation for the ministry at the Concordia Theological Seminary, where he completed the course in 1874.

The enthusiasm and earnestness which were his characteristics in this earlier training were still more strikingly illustrated in his first real work. He came out to what was then a raw frontier country, the Red River valley of North Dakota, where he was a missionary preacher for the Norwegian Lutheran synod. Almost no salary was attached to this labor, and he helped support himself by taking up a claim and farming it in addition to his other strenuous labors. He experienced all the hardships of pioneer life, but was of such a nature that he enjoyed it, and his zeal was rewarded by the establishment of churches throughout the Red River valley, a synod church and a people that have since become powerful in that section of the country.

He remained there until 1890, when he was chosen by the church to be president in charge of the Pacific district of the Norwegian synod, an office somewhat similar to that of bishop in the Episcopal church. The district embraced Washington, Oregon, California, those parts of Montana and Idaho which are west of the great divide, and Alaska. On coming there he established himself in Parkland, a beautiful suburb of Tacoma, where he built a church.

In 1891 he began the task of erecting a Norwegian college at Parkland. The building was begun during the good times of the western part of the country, but about the time the building was ready for dedication the panic of

1893 was at its height, and only by the efforts of Rev. Harstad did the undertaking succeed.¹²⁷ The school was dedicated in 1894, and from then till 1899 Rev. Harstad traveled all over the district soliciting aid to pay off the indebtedness, and in 1898 he even went to Alaska, where he remained a year.

Rev. Harstad writes concerning the conditions among the pioneers in the Red river valley:

"Altho we, up to 1877 thot, that the wide plains outside the woods and streams would, during all our lifetime, serve as grazing land for our cattle, nevertheless we lived with good expectations. I considered the Red River valley to be the best land and climate that I knew of, altho I had spent my boyhood days on some of the best land both in LaSalle county, Illinois, seventy miles southwest of Chicago and in Fillmore county, Minnesota. Still we did not know that, in the Red River valley, we were walking upon one of the richest gold mines one could conceive of.

"In 1874 and '75 we could have bought thousands of acres of the best land in Traill county, by obtaining Northern Pacific Railroad land which in this county was valued at \$1.25 per acre, but in St. Paul the bonds of this company could be bought for six cents on the dollar, consequently eight cents per acre.

"But we were glad to secure food and clothing, and besides we knew that the railroad did not have a deed

¹²⁷ The Pacific Lutheran Academy, as the school is known, has a beautiful location, and the building is a large four-story brick, erected at a cost of between ninety and one hundred thousand dollars. The doors are open to both sexes, and there are about one hundred and fifty pupils. Five courses of instruction are offered, ranging from two to four years each, and every department is in the hands of thoroughly competent instructors, so that a brilliant future awaits the school.

Prosser, *History of the Puget Sound Country*, Chicago, 1903, p. 38.

of the land, nor had they fulfilled their charter. Some bought later at 40 cents per acre.

"On Christmas day 1874 I held services in Gran congregation, and in the evening, conducted my first wedding at Anders Skogen on the Goose river, a little way below the present town of Hillsboro. The bride was a daughter of Mr. Skogen. She was in 1876 killed by Indians on the way to the Black Hills. One year the Red river froze over and stopped the navigation, as far as I know, in September. That winter Anders Hanson of Mayville was watchman on a boat which was icebound south of Caledonia. But after the wedding, that Christmas evening, I had to drive to the home of Hans Gordon near Marsh river, Minnesota, a few miles east of the present town of Shelly. This town was named for the man in charge of the ferry across the Red river. That night a wolf followed at my heels as close as he could, for a long time. But I suffered no inconvenience.

"To travel on skiis, or to drive in a flying blizzard, so thick that a person could hardly see the hind legs of the horses, was at times rather discouraging, but when a person did not lose his head and kept continually on the lookout, guided by the wind during the day and by the stars at night, there was no danger. The greatest difficulty was, when a person in the dark drove into a gulch where there was such deep snow that the horses could not get thru."¹²⁸

As to the field territory of his labors Rev. Harstad writes that in 1874 he accepted a call from two congregations of five families each, Trysil, located 15 miles north of Fargo, and Gran, on Goose river, 45 miles northwest of the first. By the mission board of the Norwegian synod

¹²⁸ Translation of a letter written by Rev. Harstad from Parkland, Washington, April 3, 1923.

he was also called to extend his mission work as far as he could.

In the course of two years several small congregations were organized, and, as soon as practicable, young men called as their pastors. Thus H. P. Solstad served Crookston, Bygland and Walle. Later on Rev. P. O. Strømme took Trysil, Wild Rice and Marsh river or Polk City. Soon more pastors were called to different localities as requirements demanded.

During Rev. Harstad's sixteen years' labor in this territory he and his assistants organized and served the seventeen congregations.¹²⁹

Divine services were held mostly in Norwegian, occasionally in English. The German Lutherans east of Hillsboro were served by Rev. Harstad, who conducted services in German for some years, until they called their own pastor.

He also visited the settlers on Park river, Pembina river, the Devils Lake region and Mouse river. Of his work he says:

"With very few exceptions I found all people hospitable and congenial, willing to let the stranger share with them

-
- ¹²⁹ 1. Wild Rice, now Hendrum, Minn.
2. Polk City (now dissolved) north of Shelly, Minn.
3. Sand Hill, now Nielsville, Minn.
4. Bygland, southwest of Fisher, Minn.
5. Crookston, Minn.
6. Walle, east of Reynolds, N. Dak.
7. Høiland, east of Buxton, N. D.
8. St. Olaf, southeast of Cummings, N. Dak.
9. German Lutheran, east of Hillsboro.
10. Hillsboro (Norwegian).
11. Bruflat, Portland.
12. Mayville.
13. St. Johannes, now Hatton.
14. Bang, west of Portland.
15. Northwood.
16. Elm River, now Clifford, south of Portland.
17. Perry, southwest of Portland.

the best they had. They diligently attended services in log cabins and dugouts and would come long distances on foot, with ox teams and wagons or in sleighs.

"The first settlers suffered considerable hardships for a few years. Grasshoppers destroyed much of the crops on the small wheat fields, winters were hard, a few people froze to death. One winter diphtheria raged. It was exceedingly pitiable, often late in the fall when snow and hard frost had set in, to see men, scantily clothed, haul wheat 50 or 75 miles with ox teams to Fargo when it was so cold that the driver had to walk back and forth ahead of his oxen to keep warm. They often had to camp over night under the wagon, and it was not uncommon to see a bloody trail on the snow from the bruised feet of the oxen."¹³⁰

G. B. JACOBSON

G. B. Jacobson relates his experiences in Traill county, and describes conditions as they existed there in the early days:

"I came to Ossian, Iowa, in 1872, where I stayed for five years working for a Norwegian farmer most of the time. In 1878, together with Jacob Fevold, Berge B. Johnson, and Ingvald Ingvaldson, I came to Fargo, then the end of the railroad northward. In order to avoid interfering with the Northern Pacific Railroad land grants, which extended fifty miles on each side of the road between Fargo and Bismarck, we set out on foot northward along the west bank of the Red river. It was our intention to locate on Sod river (now Park river) which place we had heard of as being favorable for settlement, but after reaching Frog Point (now Belmont), fifty-two miles

¹³⁰ From a letter written by Rev. Harstad, Parkland, Washington, Dec. 10, 1924.

north on the Red river, we were attracted by the boundless virgin prairies, and decided to investigate opportunities for filing homesteads there. The land along the Red river with the exception of school lands and railroad lands, the latter type of which there seemed to be an abundance, was all taken up.

"The land only a few miles west of the Red river was still vacant, and we took up claims, four miles west of Frog Point. Then we went back to Moorhead for supplies and building materials. I suggested that we could save expense by using the river for transportation and float our lumber and supplies, in the form of a raft, downstream. We did so and it took us four days before we came in sight of the old Hudson Bay Company's hotel on Frog Point. We had spread some earth on the raft, so we could keep a fire going, for there was danger at night of being run into by the steamboats plying up and down stream.¹³¹

"From the lumber brought down on the raft we built four houses on our respective homesteads. Later that same summer I went back to Iowa and the next year I set out again for the Red River country. I drove with a team of horses and a covered wagon, and Mathias Stangeland, the son of an Iowa farmer, went with me.¹³²

"We had a great deal of rain that year. One evening I was permitted to put my team in a stable along the road which belonged to a farmer. In the morning I found that my team was standing in water up to their knees. The Minnesota river was swollen, due to the floods, and appeared to be a mile wide. My team was used to fording

¹³¹ We fried ham and made coffee on the raft, and had an enjoyable time. We caught fish and this added to our food supplies and gave variety to our meals.

¹³² Reports concerning Stangeland indicate that he became a hunter and trapper and is at present living somewhere in the Rockies.

streams and crossing submerged bridges during highwater, but at one bridge they refused to cross and I had to get out of the wagon, unhitch them and pull the wagon back by means of a rope. I went to the nearest town to wait for the water to subside. When I reached town there was some excitement at my narrow escape. Four men with a team of horses had been swept downstream while attempting to cross at the same place where my team had refused to cross.

"I came back to Dakota in November and at Fargo I purchased some tar paper with which to cover my house. The next day I set out for Grand Forks with two sacks of wheat to be ground into flour. A prairie fire had swept the country west of the river and everything was black. At Grand Forks I purchased a stove and some other supplies and started for home. A blizzard set in and I reached home at the time the storm began to rage in its full fury. I put my horses into the stable, which was nothing more than a dugout by the coulee bank covered with branches and straw. My shanty very soon blew full of snow and wet my matches so that it was difficult to start a fire. It was fortunate for me that my axe had been left inside and I was able to hew enough fuel from the house timbers to keep up a fire during the blizzard.

"In the spring of the next year fifteen families originally from Saetersdalen, Norway, came in covered wagons. They brought with them one plow and began the improvements as required by law. The whole company settled around us and this added a new element to the community. Knut Nommeland, one of them, became county treasurer and later held the office of state treasurer. Rev. B. Harstad, also from Saetersdalen, organized congregations among them as well as many other places. The next spring I drove out west on the unsettled prairie to look over the

land in order that I might let my friends in Iowa know what the prospect were for settlers. Many reindeer antlers and buffalo bones covered the ground. I also saw a herd of reindeer.¹³³

"Rev. Hagboe used to walk along the rivers between the settlements and gather the people for religious services."¹³⁴

MRS. GABRIEL GUNDERSON

Mrs. Gabriel Gunderson of Buxton tells of the religious and social conditions on the prairie west of the Red river in the latter seventies: "My husband and I came to Frog Point, now Belmont, on the Red river in 1877. We drove in a covered wagon from Iowa. There were two other wagons in the same company, Lars Olson driving one and Jacob Berg (Ramsfjeld) together with his brother Osmond, in the other.¹³⁵ We all settled on the prairie five miles east of Buxton. Later that same summer a number

¹³³ Undoubtedly he meant *elk*.

¹³⁴ One episode is told of Rev. Hagboe which illustrates the way in which he traveled. As an itinerant pastor, he came from the Minnesota side of the Red River valley on one of his regular trips among the communities. A number of women had gathered on the west bank of the river, with their children which were to be baptized, for it was only once in a long time that the minister could come. A man usually known as Fante Tollef was to ferry him across the Red river in a dugout canoe. As they were rowing across the river Rev. Hagboe, in order to save time, began to take out his books and make preparations for the performance of his ministerial duties. While doing this he moved around considerably. Tollef called on him to sit still so as not to rock the boat but presently the canoe capsized. The clergyman clung to the side of the boat, but Tollef was plunged into the river. The latter soon bobbed up out of the water and upbraided the preacher for his carelessness. Fortunately he managed to get hold of a log and with the aid of this he dragged both the canoe and the preacher ashore. Rev. Hagboe then baptized the children and proceeded on his way towards the Goose river.

From an interview with G. B. Jacobson.

¹³⁵ They were all originally emigrants from Stavanger, Norway.

of families, from Sætersdalen, Norway, came in fourteen covered wagons and settled near us. That was then the edge of the settlement, the land to the west of us being taken up later. Mr. Gunderson bought a log cabin by the river, took it apart and reconstructed it on his farm. The other settlers lived in sod huts, but the log shanty was very unsuitable for use as a residence out on the prairie for it was much colder than a sod hut.

"We used to meet, generally in our home, which was the largest in the neighborhood, for devotional meetings. Rev. Bersvend Anderson used to come on foot or on skis and hold meetings and we usually had lunch after services. Wood for fuel was generally cut on the railroad lands and school lands down by the Red river."

PEER ASHEIM

Peer Asheim, now living near Buxton, describes conditions among the pioneers in the early eighties.¹³⁶ "My brothers Æsten, Levin and I came up here from Ossian, Iowa, in 1880. There were eight covered wagons in the company, some of which went to Ada, Minnesota, some to Hillsboro and our group, consisting of Tore Lebacken (Krumshoien), Halvor Anderbakken, my brothers and myself, settled northwest of Buxton. Some drove with horses and some with oxen. I brought my family with me, besides some household articles and a cow. It took a whole month from the time we left Iowa until we reached our destination, but we fished and hunted while on the way, and the weather was fine so it was a fairly enjoyable trip. We filed on homesteads at the edge of the settlement.

¹³⁶ Peer Asheim was born in Josness, Hjelmleand, Stavanger, Norway. He first located in Nelson county in Section 23, Range 50, Township 48. In 1896 he moved to Section 27 where he lives at the present time, 1923.

The land had been taken up from the Red river westward, and the settlement had also begun to extend northward from the Goose river. During the summer months we practically lived on ducks and geese, which we shot in the lake east of my house.

"The first sod house I built was fourteen by sixteen feet. Being in a hurry, I tried to take a short cut. So I put up a post in each corner and one in the center of each of the proposed walls. On top of these I placed a beam on each side, thus making a frame around which I piled sod. For the roof I had boards over the rafters, then a layer of straw with sod and gravel on top, to keep the house warm and waterproof. I put in two large windows and a door, and I also leveled off the ground inside, the hut being built in a side hill, and put in a board floor.

"But to my disappointment, my experiment proved impractical, for the sod walls settled, causing openings to form under the eaves, the roof being supported by the log frame, which had to be stopped up from time to time. Nevertheless, it was a warm house, and a number of people stayed with us the first winter. My stable was fourteen feet high. In the spring we bought some farm implements and by exchanging and borrowing we got along in fine shape.

"The big snow winter of 1896-97 was the most memorable of the hardships of early days. A neighbor, Albert Lofthus, searched for three days, digging in the snow drifts, to locate his stables which he found two feet under the surface of the drifts. Steps had to be cut, in order to get the horses up the steep incline where he had shoveled the snow away before the door. The stable was pressed out of shape and collapsed as soon as the snow melted. At Rasmus Riveland's place, four and a half miles east of

Buxton, during that same blizzard, the door of his hut was snowed in and Riveland had to crawl through the upstairs window to get out.

"A great number of buffalo bones covered the ground when we came up here. People used to gather sack-fulls and sell them. Wood was gotten from the Red river. Most of the settlers had neither fuel nor money and used to help themselves to the timber on the railroad and school lands. The railroad company had placed Tore Ruste in charge of their land, but that did not protect the timber."

OLE E. HOLEN

Ole E. Holen was born in Gudbrandsdalen, Norway. He came to Hillsboro in 1881 and later to Nelson county. In 1885 he took part in organizing Sundahl congregation. He was personally acquainted with Rev. I. Lundeby, who served this congregation, besides traveling as a mission pastor between Fort Totten and Valley City. Ole E. Holen gives the following recollections of Rev. I. Lundeby: "During the time when Lundeby was a student at Augsburg seminary, a cart horse was kept on the campus to accommodate travelers, Minneapolis then being in its infancy with no street car service between the town and the school. Lundeby was one of the "select few" among the student body who could manage this high spirited animal. Especially equipped with brawn and brains, Lundeby feared nothing, and he seemed to be destined for the struggles against the forces of nature which he later encountered on the prairies of Dakota.

"Three times Rev. Lundeby was lost in snowstorms. On one of these occasions he found shelter overnight beside a haystack, and at another time he dug a hole in a strawstack for himself and his team, on the leeward side, awaiting the coming of dawn. With his ski sled and his

ponies, he traversed the prairies between the settlements and preached in the sod huts and school houses.

"One Sunday, during harvest time, a prairie fire had been started near Bue postoffice. A stiff breeze from the west set the fire traveling eastward with a terrific speed. Rev. Lundebly, who had conducted services down the Sheyenne river in the forenoon, noticed the fire and realizing the danger set out to warn the farmers in the threatened district, and for several miles his faithful team raced with the mad flames. Rev. Lundebly was at this occasion instrumental in saving many homes and a great deal of grain, ready to be threshed. The farmers got their plows out and turned up "fire-breaks" around fields, buildings and haystacks. John Mehle, who lived four miles north of Aneta, was not at home and nearly all his grain, standing in shocks, was burned."¹³⁷

As to his own experiences in the early days Holen writes:

"When I came to Dakota, the Hudson Bay Fur Company had a station at Mayville. That town then consisted of only two log huts. In 1880 the railroad was graded to Blanchard. The St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad, mainly owned by Dutch stockholders, built this line, besides one on the east side of the Red river, but sometime later the company went bankrupt. James Hill then determined to come up to this country to study the situation. A French half-breed took him, with a dog team, from St. Paul to Manitoba, across the barren wastes of snow. James Hill decided that there was a fortune to be made in this part of the country and he tried to get eastern capitalists interested in the enterprise, but they thought

¹³⁷ From an interview with Ole E. Holen.

that the country here was uninhabitable. He then sought aid in Europe where he was successful."¹³⁸

MATHIAS KALDOR

Mathias Kaldor came to Traill county in 1871 after having spent two years in Freeborn county, Minnesota, since his arrival in this country.¹³⁹ He tells of the group that came up at the same time, and of some of their experiences:

"On June 22, 1871, a company in four covered wagons from Albert Lea, Minnesota, arrived in the Goose River country.¹⁴⁰ This group consisted of the following: Lars Moen, Hans Arneson, and Christian Kaldor, with their families and the latter's unmarried brothers, Simeon and Mathias.¹⁴¹ Moen had two wagons, Christian Kaldor one, besides oxen and cattle, and I had one wagon and three head of oxen. We camped in the open country and slept in our wagons.

"We selected the timber lands along the Goose river

¹³⁸ "It was in the early eighties, when the country to the south of Grand Forks was submerged in water, standing knee deep over the track at some places. We saw a business train approaching. It consisted of a locomotive with a sort of observation coach. The section hands were wondering what was up. Presently a window was opened and one of the passengers put his head out, carefully scrutinizing everything. The train stopped and a man, dressed in oil clothes and hip boots, stepped out. He began inspecting the road bed and made notations in his book. One of the men recognized him. It was Jim Hill. He built his roads, especially his branch lines, in the northwestern direction, to save the cuts from drifting full of snow, thus saving both expense and inconvenience which would otherwise have resulted."

¹³⁹ During these years he worked for Simeon Rustad, who was a member of the Minnesota legislature. Here he joined a congregation served by Rev. Geraker of the Norwegian Danish Conference. He tells how Rustad would carry on ardent discussions there with the Norwegian synod pastors.

¹⁴⁰ These were ordinary wagons covered with canvas.

¹⁴¹ Simeon Kaldor never married. Mathias Kaldor and his wife live at present in Hillsboro.

because of the many advantages. Besides being sheltered there was an abundance of grass and water for our cattle, and the woods afforded material from which we could build houses.

"At this time there were a great many fish in the river. These we caught by closing off the stream. We had all we wanted during the summer months, besides salting down a supply for winter.

"The prairie chickens were numerous and we could hear them hum outside the house in the morning. We used to shoot them while working in the field. I once got three in one shot from a covey that were picking worms in the furrow.

"We had six or eight acres of field and for two years we threshed our crop with a flail. We placed two bass-wood logs on either side of the threshing floor to keep the wheat from scattering and blowing away. Either the second or third spring that I was here, I intended to go to Fargo with some potatoes to sell. At Elm river the bridge was gone. I found a man who had a boat, but its carrying capacity was not very great. I had to take the wagon apart and transport it across in pieces. Then I took the yoke off the oxen and had them swim over to the other side.

"The Hudson Bay Company had a store at Caledonia and one at Frog Point. They sold groceries to us on credit. In Caledonia they used to have a barrel of beer standing in the middle of the floor and whoever came in to trade could help himself. One year the Hudson Bay Company threshed our grain and we were to pay for the threshing after we had hauled our grain to market. As a result many old timers are still owing the Hudson Bay Company for threshing as well as for groceries.

"This was fortunate for us for we had no money with

which to buy food. During the first year, we three brothers lived together in the same house. This was a log hut fifteen by eighteen feet. It contained a loft which was only large enough to enable a man to stand erect in the center. The hut was built of finished oak logs making a smooth wall both on the inside and the outside.¹⁴² The cracks between the logs were filled with clay from the Goose river. We covered the roof with elm bark and then shoveled sod and dirt on top. After some time grass would grow on the roof. We built one house at a time and worked together. The first year Simeon was on his claim he lived in a dugout which was made in the side hill. This constituted the improvements necessary to hold the land. There were no sod houses by the river.

"Our nearest market was Benson, Minnesota. My brother Christian was down there in the fall to buy flour. I went to Otter Tail county to buy seed wheat. The only thing we had to sell was a heifer or a calf. When we came up here in our wagons we had a breaking plow with us. The first years, my wife and I seeded our little patch of ground by hand. The grasshoppers came across this region and reached our place in the evening. The next morning when they began to move onward again, their flight resembled a vast cloud that swept along like a snow-storm. They destroyed our garden but the grain was not damaged much."

INGEBRIGT LOCKEN

Ingebrigt Locken, who came to this country in 1880, and to Dakota three years later, gives the following account of his early experiences: "I came to Red Wing, Minnesota, in 1880, and for more than a month after my arrival I

¹⁴² Simeon and Christian were carpenters by trade while in Norway.

was unable to obtain any work. A heavy rain caused a rise in the Mississippi river and many cellars were filled with water and sand. I secured a job in cleaning up the rubbish and debris for which I was paid \$1.50 a day. In the fall of that year I worked in the harvest field for \$30 a month, in Rice county, Minnesota. The farmer's wife drove the horses and one man stood on either side of the reaper binding the wheat. After the harvest was over I was unable to make any settlement with my boss, so I walked back to Red Wing, a distance of seventy miles, thirty of which I covered in one day.

"A thresher offered to pay 96 cents a day, but I refused to accept. Sometime later I obtained work on a dairy farm owned by Anders Tofte, but milking cows did not appeal to me, for it was too much of a change from the seafaring life I had led before immigrating to America. Then I got a job cutting wood in Wisconsin, about one hundred miles out from Red Wing, being paid \$1.00 a cord for cutting and piling maple and 70 to 80 cents for basswood. My wife got \$3 a week in Red Wing for doing housework.

"With a cousin, Einar Locken, I piloted a steamer from Rich Landing, Minnesota, to Dubuque, Iowa. We made one trip nearly down to St. Louis with lumber rafts. During the summer I was taken sick with yellow fever.

"The next spring my wife and I went to Swift county, near Appleton, Minnesota, where we rented a farm. The owner shipped a carload to that place consisting of a team of mules and one of horses besides other equipment, for us to use. Being newcomers, we made no contract. We took groceries on time at the store nearby which was owned by our landlord. At the end of the season our wages were figured at \$35 a month for both, and we were owing for groceries.

"I got a letter from my sister in Traill county, in Dakota,

telling of the death of her husband. He had gone to Blanchard on skis, to trade, carrying a pack. On the way back he had lost his way and froze to death half a mile from his home.

"We took the train to Clifford, then only a small shanty. Here Iver Swenson met us with a rig consisting of a blind horse and a low home made sleigh. We rented my sister's farm, a quarter section of land, on half shares. My brother, John Mehle, had been in Nelson county where he had filed homestead the year before. All the land was taken up around Blanchard, so I went with Iver Swenson and Ole Knudson in 1893 and filed on land in Nelson county in what is now Ora township. I hired four horses and a breaking plow from my sister, and in seven weeks I broke eight acres, besides building a sod stable, fourteen by thirty feet. I hauled logs from the Sheyenne river, paying a dollar for an eighteen foot ash pole and two dollars for a tree. I placed a vertical pole in each end of the stable and a heavy beam horizontally resting on these. The smaller branches served as rafters on top of which I spread a layer of hay. Over this I shoveled clay which made the roof waterproof.

"The next year I moved up there with my family. I divided the stable off and lived in one end of it, using the other end for my oxen. It was without a floor, we mixed clay with wood ashes and water, with which we plastered the inside, giving our home a cream colored tint. We planted flowers in the sod wall, inside the windows, which added to its homelike appearance.

"That summer we saw only one team of horses which passed our place. Everything was quiet except for our neighbor, McClure, who broke prairie west of our place. Late in the summer E. B. Hillesland filed on a homestead near by. He kept his horses in our stable, and slept on

his feed sacks in one corner of our house. We dug a hole three or four feet deep near a slough where we got our water; for fuel we burned twisted hay.

"I went to Appleton and traded an eighty acre tree claim which I had filed on while renting land at that place. In return I got two colts, valued at \$250 and enough money to buy two oxen, a heifer and some household articles. I traded the colts to Peter Hoiland, who lived near the present site of Aneta, for an old ox, valued at \$90, a seeder and a breaking plow. I broke twelve acres for the neighbors, at four or five dollars an acre, earning enough to buy a sulky plow."¹⁴³

SVEN HESKIN

Sven Heskin filed on a claim near the present site of Portland in 1872. He gives the following account of the early settlers along the Goose river:

"The first settlers located near Caledonia, and from that place upstream, the timber lands were taken up as the new arrivals came. Most of the settlers had arrived in 1871, coming in three separate groups overland. The Germans, Swedes and Americans came in fifteen prairie schooners from Yankton, South Dakota, some drawn by horses and others by oxen. Shortly after their arrival the Kaldors and Moens came from Freeborn county, Minnesota. They drove with ox teams, using one yoke for each of the four covered wagons. Food, clothing, stoves, and

¹⁴³ "The next summer I broke forty or fifty acres for neighbors and also began the construction of a sod hut, fourteen by sixteen. It had two windows and later I built a small storm shed of lumber as an addition to it. I also dug a cellar which I covered with poles. My first crop consisted of two loads of wheat. This I hauled to Northwood. I bought rough lumber for a floor and Severt Solberg did the carpenter work. Winter came, the lakes froze and there was no water to get. My brother helped me dig a thirty-five foot well."

other household articles were brought along. They also had a few cows which they drove in a herd after the wagon train. I accompanied them a day on the journey. They camped in the open country, sleeping in the wagons at night. The company crossed the Red river on the Hudson Bay ferry, and from thence proceeded up the Goose river where they located.

"In 1874 a great number of people came from Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and practically all the remaining timber land was taken up, the settlement extending to the northern edge of the woods along the Goose river, west of the present town of Northwood.

"Most of the land along the lower part of the Goose river had been taken up previous to this time and hence these settlers who came in 1874 located between Portland and Northwood.

"In the summer of 1872 Rev. B. Hagboe, of the Norwegian Danish conference, came to the Goose River settlement as an inner mission pastor. That year he organized Aal congregation, consisting of the Moens, the Kaldors, and the Strand, Arnegaard and Larson families.

"In 1873 Prof. A. Weenaas, the founder of Augsburg Seminary, took a trip to this community, and preached near the present site of Portland, where Aurdal congregation later was organized that same year.

"In 1874 Rev. B. Harstad, of the Norwegian synod, organized Gran congregation east of the present site of Mayville, and Bruflat congregation, four miles west of Portland. During that same year Rev. B. Hagboe organized Hoel congregation southeast of Northwood, and sometime later Little Forks congregation.

"Georgetown was a Hudson Bay station. At Georgetown the Hudson Bay Company had a cattle ranch. In 1872 this company built a store and a flour mill at Cale-

donia. They had another station on the Red river at Frog Point. Near the present site of East Grand Forks, between the "forks," they had a landing. They also had a store at this place. At Pembina there were two landings, one on either side of the boundary.

"The Hudson Bay Company had three steamboats on the Red river, plying between Breckenridge and Winnipeg. They were the *International*, the *Dakota* and the *Selkirk*. Captain Griggs, who lived for many years afterwards in Grand Forks, commanded the *Selkirk*.

"In 1873 I worked on the *International* at first, and later on the *Dakota*. The men employed on the latter were all Norwegians. We were paid \$35 a month besides getting our board. Our work consisted in loading and unloading freight, besides carrying aboard a cord of wood apiece daily. The *International* had two boilers and burned twenty-two cords a day. It had a crew of twenty-two deck hands besides the captain, the pilot and other officers. The *Dakota* with one boiler, burned eleven cords a day. It had a working crew of eleven men.

"Each steamboat had, in addition to itself, two barges., about thirty feet long, on which additional freight was loaded. There were four men on each barge, two for each six hour shift. The barges were equipped with one oar in front and one behind, consisting of a heavy pole with a blade on the outer end, balanced on a peg. One man was stationed at each oar. At Moorhead the barges were loaded first and set adrift down stream, the oars serving as steering devices. All hands turned to when loading or unloading. We traveled day and night. Lanterns were used to light our way. The steamboats were then loaded and farther downstream they caught up with us and lashed the barges to the boat with ropes, one on each side. The steamboats were propelled by a single

wheel behind, which made them safer in traveling among the sandbars. Occasionally we saw rafts floating down the river.

"The cargo consisted of various articles, machinery and goods of every kind. We supplied the soldiers at the Pembina forts with food. One cargo consisted of livestock which we unloaded at these forts. At another we had a barge loaded with whiskey for Winnipeg.

"The Hudson Bay Company ran a mail coach between Breckenridge and Georgetown on the east side of the Red river and from Georgetown to Pembina along the west bank. There were stations twelve miles apart along this road, where teams were changed and lunch could be had. A few people lived at each of these stations. One of these was located at Elm river. A stage with two teams was employed to carry passengers. The teamster sat on an open seat in front on the carriage and passengers in an enclosed cab. A telegraph line was also built along the river and extended to Breckenridge and to St. Paul.

"At Quincy, by Elm river, was a hotel where people traveling between Moorhead and the Goose river generally stopped. Ole Strandvold, who lived on the Dakota side opposite to Georgetown, took in travelers, and got very little compensation for his hospitality. Most of the people traveling in those days carried their own provisions with them, but they often helped themselves to what they could find around his place and seldom paid for it. They camped all over his yard."

HANS HANSON

Hans Hanson, who came from Kilbourn City, Wisconsin, to the Goose River country in March 1871, gives the following account of his experience:

"There were five in the company in which I came, I

had one yoke of oxen and the others had two apiece. At La Crosse we loaded the cattle, oxen and wagons on a steamboat which took us to St. Paul. From this place we drove across the country to Dakota. We went by way of St. Cloud and crossed the Red river near Fort Abercrombie. At the latter place there were a number of soldiers, and bands of Indians roamed about in the woods near the fort.

"There were no crops the first year and it took a whole month to go to Alexandria, by ox team, where we bought flour. In 1871 we made a trip to that place and when we reached the site of Moorhead, we saw a number of tents, which were pitched along the Red river. Some buildings were also under construction and there seemed to be a bustle of life about the place. When we came back from Alexandria the track had been laid to Moorhead.

"I worked in 1872 on the Northern Pacific railroad between Fargo and Bismarck, and was paid \$35 a month to drive team. We worked at Fargo, Jamestown and Crystal Springs. At the latter place we had a contract on two miles. A guard with a revolver was posted to protect the railroad all night for fear of attacks by Indians. Beeves were killed to supply the men in the railroad camps with fresh meat. When we reached Bismarck we got a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers to guard our camp. There were some five hundred Indians encamped west of us. In the evenings they had their war-dances and some of the men in our gang lifted the side of the tent and fired at them.

"Kennedy was the name of our contractor. He had a fifty mile grade under construction between Fargo and Jamestown. A three-day snowstorm set in while we were waiting for the pay-train. Finally an engine with a single coach arrived, but the officials had no money for us.

There were five hundred men waiting for their pay checks and the next day the same thing occurred. Then the men broke the rails so the train could not get back. The contractor locked himself in, and after a while we saw three hundred soldiers who came marching towards us with fixed bayonets. The track was put in order and the next day the train came back with money for us.

"When we had finished our contract the men were paid off and a lot of whiskey was drunk. The crew was packed into box-cars and shipped to Fargo. There was a great deal of fighting and carousing and we feared being robbed of our hard earned wages.

"In the winter of 1871-72, together with Hans Johnson, who lived a mile west of my place, and John Anderson, who lived near Hillsboro, I made a trip to Grand Forks to look for work. We walked the whole way, pulling after us a sled on which we had a small food supply. When we came within two miles of Grand Forks, we found a shanty. The door was closed, but we broke in and slept on the earthen floor. There was no work to be had in the new town. We bought a dinner in a lunch-room which was kept in a shack there, and then we returned home. Later I walked to Fargo to try to obtain work, carrying a sack of food over my shoulder. At Elm river I stayed overnight with a half-breed with an Indian wife. In 1872 I made a trip to Fargo with a team of oxen and a load of hay. I stayed overnight at the home of an Englishman who had a stage-station by Elm river.

"Sometime later, together with the Kaldors, I took another trip to Fargo. We drove with oxen. A blizzard overtook us and we sought shelter in the stage station. The Englishman had abandoned the place and we broke into the hut. We took the oxen into the house and split off the logs on the inside for fuel. There was danger of

fire for the hut was covered with a straw roof. During that storm a Dane and a yoke of oxen froze to death, sixteen miles out on the prairie.

"The Chippewas from the east and Dakotas from the west passed by our place during the summer months while crossing the country between the rivers. They carried their birch-bark canoes on their heads. A squaw usually had to perform this duty. The Indians always traveled in single file.

"A French half-breed told me that it was then fifteen years since the buffaloes had left the Red River country. He told us how the Indians used to shoot the buffaloes when large herds in single file came down to the rivers to drink. When looking for water these beasts never paid any attention to dead buffaloes along the way, but out on the open prairie they would charge the hunters.

"Red river carts were often seen going between Fargo and Pembina. There were generally a train of eighteen or twenty of these, one ox being used for each cart.

"When the first wheat we raised, consisting of one or two little stacks on each farm, was ready to be threshed. the Hudson Bay Company offered to ship up a horse-power machine and do our threshing. We agreed to this and later in the fall they came, bringing sacks with them. We hauled the wheat to Caledonia where we sold it and returned the sacks. Here the Hudson Bay Company loaded it on their steamboats. This company had a ferry at Georgetown. Later we hauled our grain to Fargo. There was a man at Elm river who placed some poles across the stream making a rude bridge and he stayed in a tent close by, collecting toll from the travelers who used his bridge.

"The grasshoppers were bad the first years. At one time we were ready to turn back, but we finally decided

to stay. We had open wells without curbing, and the summer when I worked on the railroad we often got more grasshoppers than water in the bucket.”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ From a personal interview with Hans Hanson. He lives on his farm located on the Goose river between Mayville and Hillsboro.

THE HISTORY OF CRARY

By EMMA SEVERSON

THE HISTORY OF CRARY

The terminus of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railroad during the winter of 1882-83 was Bartlett.¹ The construction force of the railroad company returned to Grand Forks on December 7. Only one load of freight was sent out to the terminus during the winter and no regular traffic was kept up. The town however grew rapidly and in the spring of 1883 it is estimated that the population was more than two thousand. There were numerous hotels, two banks, three hardware stores, "fourteen good saloons," as one person phrased it, and many other business places. In April, 1883, the people were coming in by the hundreds every day and hotel accommodations were difficult to secure. To secure a room it was necessary to telegraph ahead several days and the usual price charged was six dollars per day. On April 14, Mrs. A. McDonald arrived there and she tells of the snow being several feet deep and the only place she had to stay, with a family of five children, was in a tent.

To this town, W. A. Crary and Arnold Dawson came on April 29, 1883. They came from Rockford, Iowa, and were both in search of land². All the land within a large area had been

¹ *Grand Forks Herald*, Grand Forks, N. Dak., November 28, 1882.

² Most of the information for this paper has been supplied by W. A. Crary of Grand Forks.

filed or squatted upon, so they set out on the following Sunday morning in search of land. They walked directly west and W. A. Crary filed on the S. E. quarter of Section 17, Township 153, Range 62. This was ten miles west of Bartlett and on the Turtle Mountain trail. He squatted on what was supposed to be 160 acres, for the land was still unsurveyed³.

The early squatters used the parallel which had been located by mounds as a starting point and every one staked out his own claim. The

³ W. A. Crary, the owner of the Crary townsite, was born July 4, 1858, in the township of Dundee, Fond du lac county, Wisconsin. His parents moved to St. Lawrence county, Pierrepont township, New York, when he was three years old. He resided there with his parents until 1878. He lived on a farm and attended the common district school and the State Normal School at Potsdam, New York. He attended the Normal School two terms. In the spring of 1879 he came to Floyd county, Iowa. The trip was made by railroad all the way, and he came out here with his sister-in-law, Mrs. John Crary and her little son. John Crary had come earlier in the year. He attended the High School at Rockford, Iowa, during the winter of 1879-80. In the spring of 1880 he came to Fergus Falls, Minnesota, and taught four terms of district school in Ottertail county, Minnesota. After this year's work he went back to Floyd county, Iowa, and there taught a term of school in 1882-83. In the spring of 1883 he came to North Dakota with the purpose of taking land. He arrived in Bartlett on April 29, 1883 and walked westward to what is now the town of Crary, the first vacant land west of Bartlett. On March 8, 1886, he married May McDonald. He and his brother John were in partnership in both business and farming interests up to 1896. He then conducted a meat-market in Crary from 1896 until 1898. In 1902 he went into the livery business and continued in that for two years. In September, 1904, he sold out his business interests in Crary and moved to Grand Forks in order that his children might have better educational advantages. He bought into the corporation of the Grand Forks Steam Laundry in 1908 and has continued in that business until the present time, and he is now vice-president of the corporation.

government survey of Ramsey county was made in June, 1883.⁴

The Turtle Mountain trail went almost directly west and varied from one half of a mile to one mile south of the present railroad. It crossed the railway survey about two and a half miles east of the present city of Devils Lake, where now the buildings of the Ensign farm are located. The trail then went west and north to Church's Ferry. The ferry crossed the Mauvaise coulee. The charge for towing a load across was \$1.00. From here the trail led north-westerly to the Turtle Mountain region. During the spring of 1883 one was never out of sight of a team along this trail. Horses were used mainly for draying, but oxen were also used. The price of hauling a load of lumber from Bartlett to Grand Harbor, a distance of twenty-seven miles, was \$14.

On this trail, directly south of the present site of Crary, Walter J. Doheny, now of Rugby, North Dakota, kept what was known as the half-way house. It was a small tar-papered shanty where one could get a lunch of bread and butter and ham for fifty cents. A feed barn was also kept

⁴ Ramsey county was organized by Governor Ordway appointing Dwight W. Ensign, Devils Lake City, Edgar V. Barton, Freshwater Lake, and Thomas C. Saunders, Wamduska, as commissioners. The first meeting was held January 24, 1883, and Dwight W. Ensign was elected chairman. *Grand Forks Herald*, Feb. 8, 1883.

The county was created from Pembina county and its boundaries have been changed a number of times.

in connection with this by R. M. and V. E. Calderwood.⁵

In the spring of 1883, the railway company had three surveys made from Bartlett to Devils Lake, though up to this time it had been thought that Bartlett would remain the terminus for at least a year or two. There seems to have been some difficulty between the railway company and Frank Bartlett, owner of the townsite, and the company refused to take billings to Bartlett and shipments of all kinds were billed to the end of the line. The middle survey was used for the construction of the road. The other two surveys were only short distances north and south of the survey used. The grading was done during the months of May and June and the first train over the line was an excursion train from St. Paul on July 4, 1883.

Only one side track was put in between Bartlett and Devils Lake and that siding was just half way between the two towns and the railroad name

⁵The town of Tracy was begun by several men from Grand Forks who located claims and with lumber hauled from Bartlett, built claim shanties in the fall of 1882 on a tract of land about two miles east of where Crary now stands. In the spring of 1883 Tracy R. Bangs, George A. Bangs, Frank Hankey, Wm. McCullough and Wm. McIntyre made a permanent settlement here, calling the place Tracy. When the railroad reached this point a post office was established and the postmaster, L. D. Bissell, also kept a small store. At the west there were no settlers except at Jerusalem and at Poole's Island on Maj. Benham's claim, situated on the site of old Devils Lake. The lack of good water at this point, and the fact that the railroad was able to find a good supply at Crary, farther west, put an end to the promising town-site of Tracy.

given to it was Midway. In the fall of 1883 John Crary circulated a petition to have a post-office established there⁶. Up to this time all mail for people in the vicinity of Midway was sent to the post office of Rogers, near Odessa. The petition was granted and John Crary⁷ was appointed the first post master, which office he held until the fall of 1885, when J. H. Smith was appointed post master.⁸

During 1884 much complaint was made to the Post Office Department at Washington that a good deal of freight and mail was going astray, because there was another place in Dakota terri-

⁶ John Crary reports that about twenty-five people signed the petition some of whom were: W. A. Crary, Peter Forslof, Thomas Holden, D. C. McLeod, Henry Nesseseth, Ole Nesseseth, Hans Ugland, and Ole Ugland.

⁷ John Crary, a brother of W. A. Crary, came out to Dakota in May, 1883.

⁸ John H. Smith was born in Ontario county, Canada, on March 10, 1847. He lived on a farm until eighteen years of age and then engaged in the mercantile business. For a time he also operated a flour mill and saw mill. He married Rebecca A. Marr and shortly after decided to come west because of its excellent opportunities. He had learned of the conditions in Dakota Territory through correspondence with cousins of Mrs. Smith's, the Miller brothers, of Inkster. They left Ontario in 1882 by way of the lakes, and passing through Grand Forks they went to the end of the railroad at Ojata. Here they hired a man to take them to Inkster. Smith bought a relinquishment near Inkster and proved up on it that fall. Early in the spring of 1883 he visited the site of Devils Lake, there were no buildings there at that time. He built a small house and they were the first family to live in Devils Lake in a frame house. During the years of 1883-84 he did contracting and in September, 1885, he went to Crary, bought two lots and built a general store. He continued in this business, with many side lines and continued to increase his land holdings. In 1902, he was granted a charter for the establishing of a National Bank at Crary and he is still president of that organization.

tory named Midway Station. A request came from Washington asking that another name be suggested and James Whelan sent in the name of Crary, in honor of W. A. Crary, who owned the land on which the siding was located. Some time later a notice was received from Washington stating that the name suggested had been accepted.

The first winter of 1883-84, the only building on the site was a shanty of rough boards covered with tar paper. A board partition was put in, one side was used for the stock and the other for living quarters. The occupants during this winter were W. A. and John Crary and Tom Kelly, the section-foreman. This building served also as the post-office. The snow was deep that year, at many times the men were compelled to dig their way out through huge snow drifts.

In the spring of 1884 the first store was erected and stocked with supplies under the firm name of Crary Brothers and Kelly. There was no regular form of incorporation but merely a verbal agreement among the parties concerned. John Crary and Tom Kelly each put in \$200. W. A. Crary made no money investment but gave his services to the firm.

The original townsite was not platted until 1885 and the first plat consisted of only three blocks. In September J. H. Smith purchased two lots and built another store.

In May, 1884, Mrs. John Crary came out from Messena, New York, and was the first woman to live in the town. John Crary built a residence and for a number of years he and his wife conducted a hotel. While engaged in these business activities, the Crary Brothers were also looking after their farming interests.

In the fall of 1884, a large store building was moved from Odessa to Crary by means of two teams of oxen and some telegraph poles. During the winter of 1884-85 it was used as a school house and W. A. Crary was the first teacher. He had taught in Ottertail county, Minnesota, and James V. Brook, then County Superintendent of Schools, accepted his former certificate and gave him a permit to teach. About twelve pupils attended the school the first year; one of them was Luther R. Bratton, in 1915, a representative in the state legislature from Pierce county, and editor of a paper in Rugby.

The township of Stevens, in which Crary is situated, was organized as a civil township in 1884.⁹ It was named for H. E. Stevens who was the first settler in the township and he was elected chairman of the first Board of Supervisors, which office he held for many years.¹⁰

⁹ From an interview with H. E. Stevens, Epping, N. Dak.

¹⁰ H. S. Stevens, for whom Stevens township was named, was born in Berlin, Wisconsin, on March 8, 1858. When he was seven years old his parents moved to LaPorte county, Indiana, and three years later to Cerro Gordo county, Iowa. His parents settled on a

The town of Crary had a large territory tributary to it but of course a great amount of farming was not done the first years, and though the crops were good for the years 1884, 1885, and 1886, yet little grain was marketed. The year 1885 the Minneapolis and Northern Elevator Company built a loading platform and James Whelan was the elevator agent. The construction of an elevator was begun in the fall, 1885. The yield in 1887 was about 250,000 bushels. Then in 1888, which was the year of the early frost, scarcely 7000 bushels were marketed in Crary. In 1889 there were perhaps 30,000 bushels and in 1890, possibly 60,000 bushels. The elevator was closed during these years and W. A. Crary or J. H. Smith handled the grain which was brought in. 1891 was the year of the big crop

farm near Mason City, Iowa, and he resided there until coming to Dakota Territory. He married Jennie Holden on September 6, 1879, and came to Larimore, D. T., in March, 1882. He settled on section 34 of Stevens township and his wife came out in July, 1882.

Alfred Stevens is one of the oldest men living in Stevens township at the present time. He was born in Oswego, New York, December 23, 1831. His boyhood and young manhood was spent on the farm of his parents. He attended the country district school. When a young man he went to Ohio and spent about six years there. In 1864 he married Frances L. Wilder of Oswego, New York, and in 1865 they moved to Wisconsin and took up a permanent settlement. He worked in the lumbering centers around Black River Falls, Jackson county. In 1880 Stevens started to drive overland with horses from Wisconsin to Dakota Territory. The summers of 1880-81 were spent in the Elk Valley. In 1882 he drove to Devils Lake and filed on a homestead, north of what is now Devils Lake. In the spring of 1883 he abandoned this claim and squatted on the S. E. quarter, Section 33, Township 153, and Range 62. He continued to farm there until 1909.

when the average yield was from 35 to 45 bushels per acre.

In 1885 the railway company built a large water tank at Crary and the water was piped from a big slough north of town. A large reservoir was built but this supply of water was only temporary, as the slough dried up entirely during the winter. Efforts were made to strike a water vein and in one place they drilled to a depth of 760 feet, but without success. They were testing for water all along the line when they heard a farmer about four miles east of Crary had secured an abundant supply of water at a depth of ten feet. The company decided to try there, too, and when they had drilled down only twenty-two feet a vein giving an unlimited supply of water was struck. The water tank was then moved to this point.

The first depot was a small portable one, about 12x20 feet. It was brought in on a flat car and unloaded there in the fall of 1884. There was no agent there for a number of years, and all shipments had to be prepaid.

In the fall of 1885, D. C. McLeod built a large building, the lower part of which was used as a feed mill and the upper part as a dance hall. The same year J. M. Soby built a blacksmith shop with a lean-to added to it which served for living purposes.¹¹ About the same time Homer LaPierre, a

¹¹ J. M. Soby is now a merchant in Claresholm, Alberta, Canada.

carpenter, built a residence. On the north side of the track, Peter Forslof owned the land and he, too, sold some lots. Some residences were erected there and Ole Nesseth built a saloon and hotel. Later this building was sold to George Northrup who engaged in the general store business.

At the time of the constitutional convention at Bismarck, the county was divided into voting precincts and each precinct sent delegates to the county convention. At the county convention two men were selected to attend the constitutional convention at Bismarck, A. O. Whipple and Ed. Lohnes.

The Odessa Boom.

When people were settling around what is now the town of Crary they had no idea that a town would ever be built there. Their object was mainly to get as near as possible to the townsite and embryo town of Odessa. The location of this was about six miles south of the town of Crary and it was at that time expected that it would be the metropolis of North Dakota.

On November 11, 1882, several men met in Walsh and Maher's office in Grand Forks and formed one of the most powerful townsite syndicates ever incorporated in the northwest. The capital stock was to be \$2,000,000 and among the incorporators were Capt. Griggs, J. S. Eshelman, Wm. Budge, Jud LaMoure, Geo. H. Walsh, Col.

Towner, and J. M. Waldron. Chas Dribble, a representative of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railroad, and A. E. Johnson, Commissioner of Immigration, were also members of the corporation. The company incorporated under the name of the Devils Lake Townsite Company and articles of incorporation were drawn up and sent to the Secretary of the Territory at Yankton. The officers chosen were as follows: President, Alexander Griggs, Grand Forks; Vice-president, Geo. H. Walsh, Grand Forks; Secretary and Treasurer, F. T. Walker, Dubuque, Iowa; Directors, Alexander Griggs, Wm. Budge, O. M. Towner, Jud LaMoure, J. M. Waldron, and F. T. Walker.¹²

The object of the corporation was to plat the town of Odessa on the north shore of Devils Lake at the famous narrows. The location was an excellent one, as one may easily prove for himself if he chooses to visit the place at the present time. The name of Odessa was suggested by Col. Towner because of the many points of geographical similarity to the Russian Odessa on the Black Sea.¹³

Besides having a fine location, the town was starting with a remarkable backing of political, financial and railway influence. The lake here was only a few hundred yards wide and it was fully expected that the railroad would cross the

¹² *Grand Forks Herald*, Grand Forks, N. Dak., November 11, 1882.

¹³ *Ib.*, November 11, 1882.

lake and then be built on along the south shore to Fort Totten.

Alexander Oldham and C. M. Douglass surveyed the townsite and on November 16, produced a map of the rapidly growing city. The tract platted for a townsite had a lake frontage of one and a half miles on the east and two miles on the south. The streets were 80 feet wide and ran north and south, and the avenues ran east and west. All lots were 25x140 feet. Sixteen acres of delightful woodland with a lake frontage was set aside in the southern part of the town for a park, and near by many members of the syndicate planned to build summer cottages.¹⁴ The first buildings, a hotel and residence, were built and owned by J. M. Waldron.

Some of the proposed buildings at this early date were a magnificent hotel to be fitted especially for the comfort of pleasure seekers and invalids; flour mills to be erected by a St. Paul capitalist, and a National bank, with a capital stock of \$200,000.¹⁵

On November 15, F. L. Burton came into Grand Forks from Odessa and said considerable building was underway and each day brought up some new establishment for the young city. E. W. Grosvenor said in one day he counted one

¹⁴ *Grand Forks Herald*, November 16, 1882.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, November 15, 1882.

hundred and ten teams, loaded with settlers and shanties for the new Eldorado.¹⁶

On November 17, a few members of this syndicate went to St. Paul to hold a meeting and perfect the organization and make plans for the boom. At this meeting the capital was increased to \$3,000,000. The stock was divided into 30,000 shares of \$100 each.

On December 1, the certificate of incorporation was received from Yankton, and December 14, at 10:00 A. M., was the date set for the opening sale of lots.¹⁷

On the 13th of December the members met and the capital stock was reduced to \$500,000. The officers were the same as previously but the directors were, Alexander Griggs, Geo. H. Walsh, J. M. Waldron, Wm. Budge, O. M. Towner, A. W. Clark, and A. R. McGill. On this date \$4000 worth of lots were sold for cash to men who were not able to remain in the city over the 14th.¹⁸

The sale of lots began at 10:00 A. M. as scheduled and more than \$40,000 were invested the first day. The terms were one half cash and the balance in six months. The purchasers were also required to enter into an agreement to immediately built upon and improve the same. Some of the heaviest investors were Martin Sullivan,

¹⁶ *Grand Forks Herald*, November 16, 1882.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, December 2, 1882.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, December 14, 1882.

Grand Forks, who purchased lots amounting to \$7000; A. L. Plummer, Hillsboro; J. L. Cashel, Grafton; and Dr. J. A. Burnett, of the Royal Northern Club of Aberdeen, Scotland. Dr. Burnett sailed for Scotland on the 23rd, but he planned to return in the spring and bring a colony with him. Dr. Burnett, H. L. Prescott, post-master of Brown's Valley, Minnesota, and C. F. Washburn, nephew of Senator Washburn, made specific plans for opening the Bank of Odessa about March 1, and the lumber was on the ground January 17.¹⁹

A week after the sale of lots began it was considered advisable to raise the price of lots \$50 on all classes in order to check the sale.²⁰ On January 22, 1883, Messrs. McClosky and Baker of Pembina invested in four or five lots, as they claimed that the lots of Odessa offered as inviting a field for investment as anywhere in the northwest.²¹

The syndicate in the meantime had established a branch office in St. Paul and another in Minneapolis and the lots had been put on sale in Chicago, Milwaukee, and other eastern cities.²²

Early in January all traffic was suspended west of Larimore for two months because of the snow,

¹⁹ *Grand Forks Herald*, December 19, 1882.

²⁰ *Ib.*, December 21, 1882.

²¹ *Ib.*, January 22, 1883.

²² *Ib.*, January 4, 1883.

so little communication was kept up with the town fifty miles beyond.²³ P. Morris carried the mail by stage and left Larimore on Mondays and Thursdays. He went to Bartlett, Odessa, and Devils Lake City, then across the lake to Fort Totten. A cutter at Creel's took the mail to Wam-duska, Harrisburg, and Jerusalem, and then met the regular stage at Odessa.²⁴

The people about Odessa received their mail at Roger's post office, about one and a half miles from the town of Odessa. H. A. Nicholson, now of Crary, was the post-master.²⁵ He had squatted on a homestead as near the proposed townsite as possible in 1882.

During the winter, a steamboat, *The Arrow*, was hauled overland from Bartlett to Odessa and launched there on the lake in the spring. At this same time lumber was hauled from Bartlett to Rock Island for the building of the *Minnie H*.²⁶ This boat was built and owned by Capt. E. E. Heerman. In the spring of 1883 it carried freight, mail and passengers from Odessa to Devils Lake, and then went on to Fort Totten.

²³ Some of the places of business in operation during the winter of 1882-83 were a hotel, J. M. Waldron, proprietor; two saloons owned by Mike Lynch and Tom Gray, a general store owned by Tom Han-raham and a flour and feed store by John Shepard.

²⁴ *Grand Forks Herald*, January 19, 1883.

²⁵ H. A. Nicholson was post-master, 1883-84, until the postoffice was located at what is now Crary.

²⁶ The *Minnie H* has been used until the last few years in carrying freight and passengers from the Devils Lake Chautauqua to Fort Totten.

Many of the settlers spent much of their time in gathering the buffalo bones to be shipped to St. Louis. They would haul a load of lumber from Bartlett to some town on the lake shore or farther west and on the return trip they would collect a load of buffalo bones. A good sized load weighed about a ton and sold for \$8.00.²⁷

In the territorial legislature, our young town of Odessa also came in for its share of attention. On February 26, a special committee on capitol removal met to receive bids on the capitol. Rice of Moody started the bidding at \$10,000. Tower City offered \$15,000, and then a motion to adjourn was proposed, but not before Jud LaMoure offered \$100,000 for Odessa with a forfeit of \$10,000 to be put up that night. Other bids were then made, but the committee adjourned without taking any definite action.²⁸

²⁷ James Orchard, one of the early settlers of Stevens township was born June 17, 1855, near Bowmanville, Durham county, Ontario, Canada. He spent his early years about that part of the country and was married on September 5, 1875, to Julia Ann Riordan. They then moved to St. Mary's, Ontario, and later to Muskoka. In the year 1878 they decided to try their fortunes in the west and came by way of the Great Lakes to Winnipeg. From Winnipeg they came by stage to Grand Forks, about October 1st. The driver of the stage from Pembina to Grand Forks was Wm. Cook. For the next four years he spent his time in the Red River Valley and worked at draying. He hauled the first load of liquor from Grand Forks to Wamduska. He was acquainted with a number of the men interested in the Odessa townsite and he, too, became interested in that part of Dakota Territory. In the spring of 1882 he decided to take up land as near Odessa as possible, and settled on section 32, T. 152, and R. 63. He hauled the lumber for the first buildings on the farm from Larimore, a distance of about forty-five miles.

²⁸ *Grand Forks Herald*, February 26, 1883.

Two days later a bill was introduced to have a commission appointed to locate the capitol. This finally passed and Governor Ordway signed the bill on March 8.²⁹ The names of the men to be appointed on this commission were stated in the bill and were as follows: Milo Scott, Grand Forks; Burleigh F. Spaulding, Fargo; Alex. McKenzie, Bismarck; Charles H. Myers, Spink; Geo. A. Mathews, Brookings; Henry H. DeLong and M. D. Thompson, Vermillion; and John P. Belding, Deadwood.

In the latter part of March, Geo. H. Walsh and F. T. Walker of the Odessa Townsite Company went to St. Paul to make definite arrangements for the securing of the capitol.³⁰ At this time the members of the syndicate interviewed President Hill of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, as to whether or not he would give them the railroad, but he refused to give any assurance and gave no reason for his refusal.³¹ Four surveys had been made west from Larimore and one was to Odessa, but the lowest level, the present site was used.³² There are, however, two prevalent rumors as to why the railroad did not go to Odessa. First, because the syndicate refused to give the railway company a share in the townsite, and second, because President Hill did se-

²⁹ *Grand Forks Herald*, March 9, 1883.

³⁰ *Ib.*, March 27, 1883.

³¹ *Ib.*, March 29, 1883.

³² Statement of Col. H. M. Creel, Devils Lake, N. Dak.

cure five-eighths interest in the townsite of Devils Lake.³³ There was a serious feud between Frank Bartlett, the owner of the townsite of Bartlett, and President Hill, and this may have been quite an importaant factor.

However, the Townsite syndicate continued boosting their interests, for even though the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway did refuse to run their railroad to the town, yet the Townsite Company felt sure of one railway, for the Northern Pacific had already made a survey from Cooperstown to Odessa, and it was expected during the middle of May that the railroad would be in the town within two months.³⁴

In the meantime the members of the Townsite Company worked faithfully to get the capitol located on their site. When the capitol commission met in Canton to receive bids for the location of the capitol, Odessa offered \$200,000 and a grant of 160 acres.³⁵ This was the largest money offer, though both Ordway and Bismarck offered \$100,000 and 320 acres of land. The bids of Steele and Odessa were accompanied by certified checks for the full amount donated.³⁶

The capitol commission made its tour of the state to look over the proposed bids for the capitol the latter part of May. The private train

³³ *Grand Forks Herald*, June 26, 1883.

³⁴ *Ib.*, May 23, 1883.

³⁵ *Ib.*, May 16, 1883.

³⁶ *Ib.*, May 17, 1883.

came to Grand Forks on Sunday morning, May 20, and went on out to Bartlett the next morning. From there the members of the Capitol Commission drove to Odessa, a distance of about 12 miles.³⁷ They found only a very few buildings, but a beautiful plateau and wooded shore, and a lake harbor 16 feet deep. The boats on the lake were making regular trips between Odessa and Grand Harbor. Then, too, this site was more nearly the geographical center of the northern half of the territory than any of the other sites proposed.

However, the Capitol Commission met in Fargo, June 1, 1883, and after taking three ballots adjourned without any place having a majority.³⁸ On June 2, after the third ballot, the capitol was unanimously located at Bismarck.³⁹

With the loss of the capitol all operations of the Northern Pacific Railroad to Odessa ceased and the activities for the promotion of the town were at an end. Some of the buildings were moved to Devils Lake, a rapidly growing town, and others to Crary.

Many of course lost much money in their investments but the Townsite Company at least tried to make some return to the investors. J. L. Cashel of Grafton says he returned his certificate

³⁷ *Grand Forks Herald*, May 22, 1883.

³⁸ *Ib.*, June 2, 1883.

³⁹ *Ib.*, June 3, 1883.

of purchase and one half of his investment was refunded.

The land which had been platted by the company for the townsite reverted to the government and was filed upon by different persons and a few years later 320 acres of this old townsite was bought by C. A. Currier. He wrote that the wheat crop raised on this land in 1891 netted him more than the Townsite syndicate ever realized on the sale of the lots.⁴⁰

A list of the heads of families residing in Stevens township at the time of the census report, 1885, was furnished by W. A. Crary.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Letter from C. A. Currier, Haywood, Wisconsin.

⁴¹ Bangs, Tracy.

Benson, Thomas.

Bratton, Robert.

Burgess, George.

Bissel, L. D.

Calderwood, Edgar.

Crary, John.

Crary, William A.

Cresien, Julius.

Dahl, Charles.

Dahl, Christian.

Dahl, Peter.

Doheny, Rose.

Doheny, W. J.

Fitzsimmons, Hugh.

Forslof, Peter.

Gile, W. D.

Hagen, Erick.

Hagen, Ole.

Hagen, Samuel.

Huseby, Andrew.

Keller, Mrs.

Kelly, Patrick.

Kelley, Thomas.

Kolstad, Martin.

Laurie, John.

Lewis, Chas.

Mahood, James.

McIntyre, W. A.

McLeod, D. C.

McDonald, Samuel.

McCullough, John.

Nesseth, H. O.

Olds, Frank P.

Orchard, James.

Orr, William.

Parker, George.

Parker, Horace.

Parker, William.

Peterson, Ellen.

Sagvang, John.

Sand, Casper.

Sand, Anton.

Stevens, Alfred.

Stevens, H. E.

Smat, John.

Thoms, Libby.

Ugland, Hans.

Ugland, Ole.

Welch, William.

Whitcomb, W. R.

Wickum, Hans.

Wood, J. R.

THE MEDORA-BLACK HILLS

STAGE LINE

By **LEWIS F. CRAWFORD**

THE MEDORA-BLACK HILLS STAGE LINE

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills region increased the pressure of the whites to occupy it, notwithstanding the treaty obligations which guaranteed the rights of the Sioux Indians thereto.¹

The Black Hills for generations had been a favorite hunting ground of the Sioux and they naturally and properly resisted to the extent of their ability the encroachments of the civilian whites which the U. S. soldiers, under direction of the government, were wholly unable to keep out.

The U. S. have always treated their solemn obligations with the Indians as mere "scraps of paper." When cupidity of citizens demanded the opening or cession of Indian lands, said lands were, regardless of the Indians desires in the matter, ceded by them practically under duress.²

A number of expeditions both by the military and by civilians had been made into the Black Hills in the early '70's with the sole purpose of verifying the rumors of rich gold deposits, such expeditions of course being at that date wholly contrary to the treaty with the Sioux above mentioned.³

In order to compel the Sioux to cede the Black Hills to the Government a law was enacted providing that no subsistence be provided them until they relinquished all claims to the Black Hills region.⁴ Reluctantly the Sioux, North-

¹ Act of Congress, Apr. 29, 1868. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XV., 635.

² Act of Congress, Aug. 15, 1874. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIX., 192.

³ The Custer Expedition, 1874, sent by the War Department; the Jenny Expedition sent by the Interior Department in 1875. Collins, *Across the Plains in 1864*, Omaha, 1904, p. 80.

⁴ Act of Congress, August 15, 1876. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIX., 192.

ern Cheyenne, and Arapahoes on September 26, 1876, signed an agreement ceding all territory guaranteed them by the treaty of 1868.⁵ Thus was the Black Hills opened.

The rush for the "Hills" in 1876 and for some years following was but a reenactment of the trek to California in '49 or to Bannack, Virginia City, and Helena in '63 and '4.

There were no established trails, much less roads, leading to the gold regions in the Black Hills. The nearest railroad on the south was Sidney, Nebraska, on the west Cheyenne, Wyo., and the nearest water route Yankton and Ft. Pierre on the east, while on the Northeast, Bismarck had both a railroad and water connection. Deadwood, which was the scene of the most frenzied excitement, was over two hundred miles from the nearest of the above points and the connecting trails being without bridges and ungraded, were next to impassable during half the year from mud, snow and swollen rivers.

This is the condition that existed from 1876 to 1884—covering eight years of feverish excitement in the Black Hills gold fields, during which many thousands of enthusiastic, hopeful speculators went in and almost as many disappointed and penniless came out. Neither distance nor well-nigh impassable roads served to free these great highways of their slow toiling stream of bull-whacker trains of merchandise and mining machinery and of the more swiftly flowing stream of human drifters.

As soon, however, as the Northern Pacific railway crossed the Missouri river and headed westward, people naturally sought a shorter route from the gold fields to the railroad. The government sent out surveying and reconnaissance parties from Ft. Abraham Lincoln to look up the

⁵ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XIX., 254.

shortest and most feasible route from the Black Hills to some town on the Northern Pacific extension, west of Bismarck.

In the meantime several towns, not one of which was much more than a siding where work trains could find lodgment, were bidding for the freight and passenger service to the Hills. This business was heavy and well worth bidding for. The most serious contenders were Dickinson, Belfield and Medora. It would seem by looking at the map and knowing the topography of the north end of the route that the contest would lie between Dickinson and Belfield with the advantage in favor of the latter, assuming that she could handle the business as well as Dickinson could. In so far as population went the four places, Gladstone, Dickinson, Belfield and Medora, were almost of a size. Dickinson in a bitter contest won the county seat from its rivals Gladstone and Belfield and won the railroad division point, thereby virtually eliminating Gladstone and Belfield as contenders for supply depot for the Black Hills trade. The Northern Pacific also designated Dickinson as the forwarding point for Deawood freight and express in the spring of '84.⁶

Dickinson, however, could only ask individuals engaging in the Black Hills trade to do their freighting from that point while Medora had a man in the person of Marquis de Mores who could establish his own line and invite the public to patronize it—without courting the sanction of anyone.⁷

⁶ *Dickinson Press*, Mar. 22, 1884.

⁷ M. Antoine de Valombrosa, Marquis de Mores, came to Medora in April, 1883, at the age of 25. He was married in 1882 to Medora Von Hoffman, daughter of L. A. Von Hoffman, a New York banker. He started a packing plant in Medora in the fall of '83, which was added to the following year. The plant was closed down in the fall of '86.

The Marquis was murdered by native guides in 1896 when on an exploring expedition in Africa. His body was later recovered and now rests in the family vault at Cannes, France.

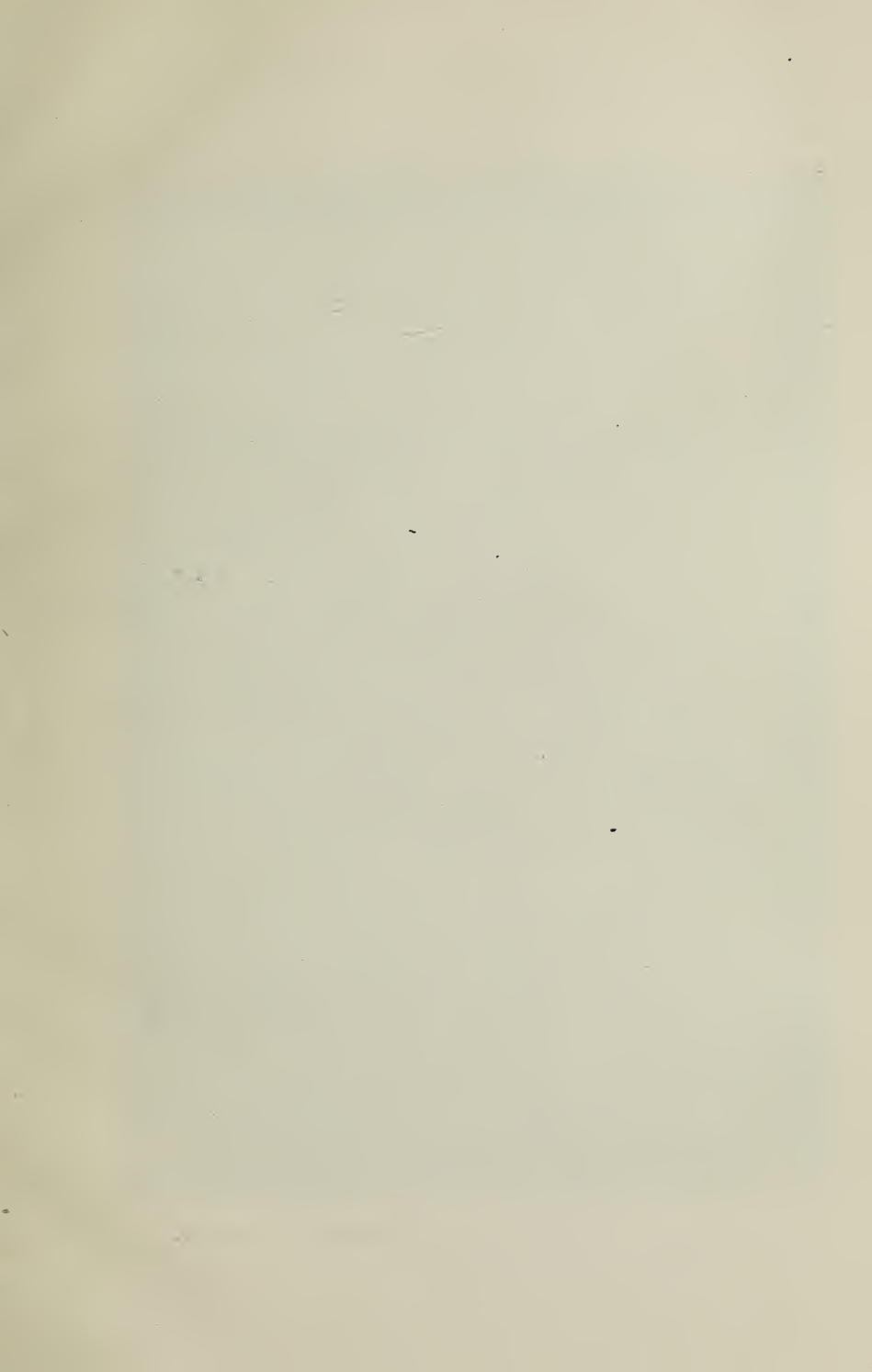
The Marquis de Mores had undoubtedly determined on organizing a stage line to the Hills in the fall of 1883, for shortly after the opening of the following year, he took steps to that end. A superintendent was employed, Erasmus Deffebach, better known as "Rassy", who was directed to lay out the route, locate the stations and purchase the necessary equipment. No one could have been found better qualified to accomplish the purpose. Deffebach came to Deadwood when the country was first opened in 1876 and had a good acquaintance with the country northward to the Northern Pacific railway. He entered upon his work with characteristic energy and as soon as the frost was out of the ground, a crew began to put the road in condition. The route out of Medora led to Sully Creek and across Davis Creek, not only through a hilly country, but cut up with numerous gulches that had to be bridged.

The distance from Medora to Deadwood was 215 miles and throughout this course stage stations were erected approximately every ten to fifteen miles. Where possible the stations were located on open water. The stage tender's house and the barns and corrals for the teams were not large yet were substantially built of lumber.

The route out of Medora led south and east up Sully Creek leaving this creek at a point where the old George Pelissier ranch was later built⁸ and crossing to Davis Creek, the first station, thence up the divide and southward to Rocky Ridge—the second station. From this point the trail went southward by the Roberts springs and continuing to Cedar Creek or south fork of the Cannon Ball, the dinnering place; thence south to Cold Turkey Creek, a branch of the North Grand, and to Crooked Creek near the North Dakota, South Dakota line.⁹ Continuing southward

⁸ Geo. Pelissier ranch, Sec. 14-139-101.

⁹ Robert Springs, Sec. 7-134-100, between Amidon and the east end of Chalky buttes.





The above is a broadside poster advertising the stage line.

the next stop was on O'Dell where Alex. Connell's ranch was later established, thence in a southerly direction to Bull Creek, Macey's or South Moreau, Belle Fourche, Spearfish and Deadwood, with stations at convenient intermediate points as required.

A good portion of the summer of 1884 was required to erect the buildings and purchase the equipment for the line. A local item in the *Badlands Cowboy* of July 5th states that, "arrangements are now completed and stages will be running on the Medora and Deadwood line in two weeks."¹⁰

A file of the *Badlands Cowboy*, were such a file in existence, would reveal the exact date when the line was set in operation—but it was probably October 8, before the initial trip was taken.

Lloyd Roberts, a conspicuous frontiersman, accompanied the first coach, serving as messenger, at the request of Marquis de Mores, receiving the sum of \$50.

The Deadwood people gave a fine reception and banquet to those accompanying the stage in honor of the event and the whole city was given up to jubilation. They already had stage lines from the east, the south and the west. The Medora line gave them connection from the north and their joy on its consummation can well be imagined.

Only a few copies of the *Badlands Cowboy* are in existence, yet enough are at hand to show its animus toward Dickinson. A complete file of the *Dickinson Press* is available showing much jealousy between Dickinson and Medora and the *Press* gave grudging notice to its booming rival. Both the above papers sparred at each other continually. De Mores had money and he was spending it freely. It made little difference to those who drew a monthly pay check from him whether his business ventures seem-

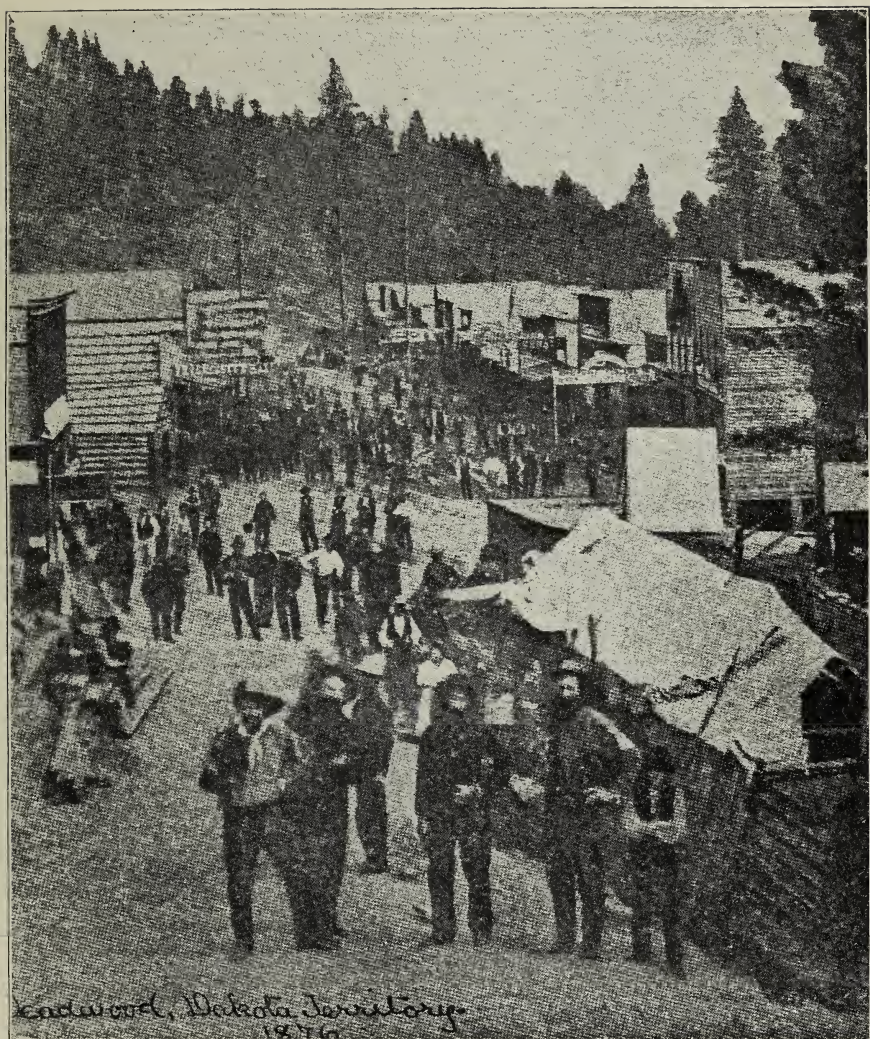
¹⁰ July 5, 1884.

ed visionary or not. As long as his money was forth-coming it gave a large number of people employment and produced the appearance of rapid development and prosperity even though the prosperity proved short lived. It is hardly possible that De Mores himself believed Medora a better point from which to reach Deadwood than was Dickinson, but he had started the packing plant in Medora the season before and Medora was his home, hence the stage line must run from Medora.

The Northwest Express Stage and Transportation Company with C. W. Carpenter as manager ran a mail and stage for some years between Bismarck and Pierre, with headquarters at Bismarck. In the completion of the Northwestern railroad to Pierre, however, the stage company got more favorable rates from the Northwestern than they were getting from the Northern Pacific and moved their headquarters to that point, when their old mail contract expired in 1880. The new mail contract ran from Pierre instead of Bismarck. The Pierre route was shorter, but over a rougher road.

The Gilmer and Salisbury Stage Co., a large outfit that covered much of the northwest region, maintained two stage routes to Deadwood, one going from Sidney, Nebraska, and the other from Cheyenne, Wyoming.¹¹ Business was good and this company was prospering. But through an unfortunate circumstance, one of the employees contracted glanders from a stage horse afflicted with it and died from its effects. Whereupon the widow of the deceased brought a damage suit against the company and won a verdict of a large amount which virtually put the company out of business. Being forced to sell their coaches and

¹¹ This company ran among others a stage line from Cheyenne to Denver, and from Denver to Salt Lake, as far back as the later '60's.



Deadwood, South Dakota, in Territorial Days.

By courtesy of Doane Robinson, Department of History, Pierre, S. D.

equipment they were distributed to several points to find a market. A number of coaches and much equipment were shipped to Helena from which point a large stage business was done.

It was here that Deffebach went to buy the outfit for the Medora-Deadwood line. He purchased four coaches, the number required, all second hand, from the Gilmer and Salisbury Company, together with a complete outfit of fine stage harness. The stage coaches were shipped to Medora and repainted. Each bore in gilt and black lettering its name and in addition thereto the legend "U. S. Mail," although de Mores was never awarded a mail contract as will be hereafter seen. The coaches were christened respectively, "Kittie," "Medora," "Dakota" and "Deadwood." They were all Concord coaches of the sort and pattern in general use throughout the west and cost at Helena \$1,200.00 for the four, the price for Concord coaches new being \$1,500.00 each.

The modern individual has little conception of the strength and durability of the old Concord stage coach. The driver sat on the top with tight lines, his feet braced against the dash board in the front boot, usually with a fellow passenger by his side. Mail, express and light baggage were carried on top held in position by an iron roof-railing adapted to the purpose. Heavier baggage and express packages were carried in the rear boot and sometimes inside, if passengers were few. If passengers were many, those who could not be crowded inside rode on top holding on as best they could to avoid being thrown overboard. The leather compensating rocker springs produced a motion not unlike the swell of the ocean. These coaches often carried a two-ton burden and stood up under the weight while going at a gait of from six to ten miles an hour, usually over rough trails at that. The writer was one of a party

of twenty who rode one of the old Medora coaches at Miles City fair a few years ago with the four-horse team attached going at a swift gallop. The coach was then over forty years old.

The required stage horses, about 150 in number, were purchased at Helena and Townsend, Montana, and shipped to Medora, for at that time stock ranching in the Badlands on the Little Missouri was in its infancy. The horses used were of the well-bred western ranch type of good bottom, active and spirited, and for the most part, were well broken, costing from \$90 to \$125 each.

The stage line was well organized as everything had to work without friction in order to meet the fixed schedule laid down.

Each of the stations had a tender whose duty it was to take care of the incoming teams and have the outgoing teams harnessed and ready to hitch with the least delay. The time allowed at each station for changing teams and stop was ten minutes. The tender also was required to sponge the harness daily, oil and repair when required and keep the metal parts polished.

A coach left Medora every morning, Sunday as well as week days. The coach leaving Medora was in charge of the same driver to the "dinnering" place on the Cedar, the coach going on, while he doubled back in the afternoon to Medora on the coach coming from Deadwood. Each team then covered the distance between stations and back each day or about twenty-five miles while the driver covered over a hundred. The whole distance of 215 miles was covered in thirty-six hours—the coach leaving Medora one morning, reaching Deadwood on the following evening.

On the level portions of the route four horses were used on each coach and on the rougher portions six. When six horses were used in a team the gentler teams were placed

MEDORA STAGE & F. CO.



Brand as above on left shoulder.

Horses strung on stage stations between Medora and Deadwood, Dakota.

A reward of twenty-five dollars will be paid for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any one dealing unlawfully with these horses.

Advertisement appearing in the *Badlands Cowboy*

in the lead and as wheelers, while the snakier one was made "swing" or middle team where its bad acting could be better controlled. The finest team carried the coach over the last lap into Deadwood in the evening and out with it the following morning. This team were good steppers and "up and coming" all the time, and of course, as was intended, entered Deadwood in arresting style.

Each station also had extra horses for the use of the tender and to take the place of any that might be sick or knocked out from any cause. A traveling blacksmith was employed who went from station to station and shod the horses needing it at their rest period. Camp tenders also covered the whole route carrying supplies, provisions for the men, and oats for the teams. In season the hay was cut under contract near the stations, hauled in and stacked in the station hay-coral.

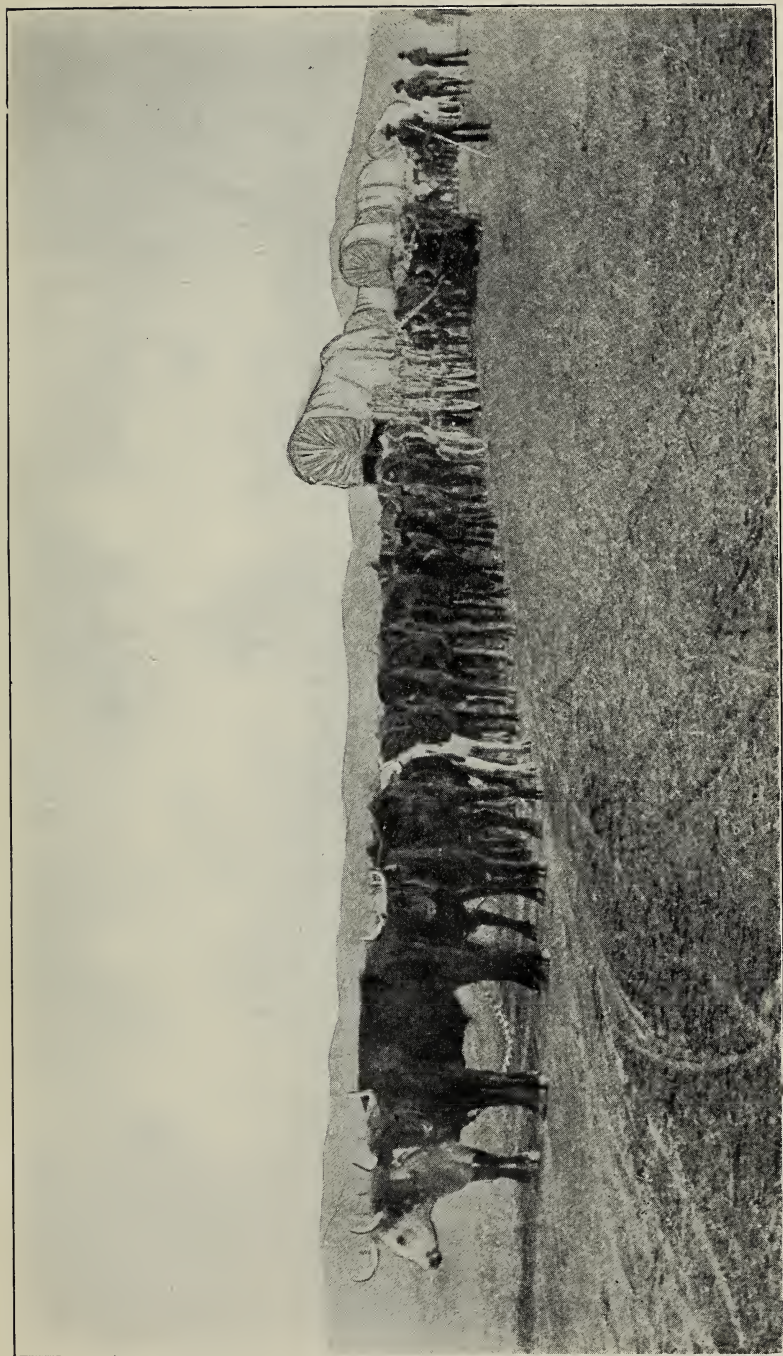
With a team furnished him, the superintendent drove up and down the line employing and discharging men, looking after the supplies, equipments, roads and such other things necessary to keep the line running smoothly. He received \$125.00 a month, the drivers \$50.00 and the station tenders as a rule somewhat less—all getting meals and bed additional. Then, too, the Stage Company maintained local office representatives in Medora and Deadwood who solicited business, made disbursements and performed other like necessary functions.

A passenger ticket from Medora to Deadwood cost \$21.50 or ten cents a mile. The carrying charge on express was ten cents a pound and on a few occasions a coach carried as much as 2500 pounds of express on a trip. Much repair parts for mining machinery and some supplies could not wait the slow-moving ox trains and were sent by express even though the rate was high. Medora's location was not such as to give the stage company a monopoly on the busi-

ness by any means. D. T. Bramble of Yankton, D. T., who had a freight line from Yankton by the Missouri River to Ft. Pierre, thence overland to Deadwood, moved a portion of his outfit to Medora but after making one trip gave up the line as impracticable, the time required to make one trip being three weeks. Lt. Varnum of the U. S. Army who made three surveys from Fort Meade to points on the Northern Pacific, reported that Dickinson was the most practicable route. In the latter part of March, 1884, the N. P. Railway established Dickinson as the terminus for the Black Hills freight, and the same week 200,000 pounds of freight was received at this destination. Many teams that had been freighting on the Pierre and Bismarck routes went to Dickinson to haul from that point, owing to its being a shorter route. Among the companies engaged in freighting may be named Osland & Henderson from Deadwood with thirty-four yoke of oxen; Don Stevenson from Bismarck; Bramble & Keyes, Yankton with forty teams; Pennell and Jones of Medora; the Dickinson & Deadwood Transportation Co., in connection with the N. P., with Wm. Moore as transportation agent, Dickinson; A. J. Ford from western Montana who had an outfit large enough to carry 100,000 pounds at a trip, and many others who found the freighting business profitable. In order to give some idea of the magnitude of the Hills freight business, let me say, that the N. P. received at Dickinson in one day, April 15, 1884, 222,890 pounds of freight destined to the gold fields, and that, too, before the winter was really over.¹² In good weather the trip to Deadwood could be made from Dickinson in twelve days.

Thus it will be seen that Medora never at any time had a large share of the freight business owing to the heavy grades in the Badlands, and early lost the business she

¹² *Dickinson Press*, Apr. 19, 1884.



Taken from a photograph of a Bull Train hauling freight from Dickinson and Ft. Pierre to Deadwood. Made at Spearfish, Dakota Territory, by R. L. Kelly, Pierre, S. Dak.

started with. With a loss of the freight came also a slump in the express business and a loss of prestige on the passenger business.

Another cause even more potent in bringing disaster to the Medora Stage line was a sharp cutting down of the passenger business. The first gold mining in any country is placer mining—where the capital required is a pick and shovel and a pan. This poor man's mining draws the crowds but it soon plays out. The deeper lodes and veins must be handled with larger aggregations of capital to do the digging, and reduce the ores. In the change from placer to vein mining the large transient population is thus released to go where rumor pictures a more inviting field. In every mining field there are many men who are always on the wing ready to fly with bag and baggage to every new "diggings" that comes to public notice. It was so in this case. Gold, silver and copper ores were discovered about this time in the Coeur d'Alenes and hither the drifters went. The stable part of the population remained in the Hills developing the mines substantially and slowly. But these stay-at-homes traveled little and in consequence the stage lines suffered a great falling off in business.

As I have already said the stage coaches bore the legend "U. S. Mail." This name was given in anticipation of being able to get the mail contract. Pierre had had the mail contract since 1880 and found the revenues therefrom almost sufficient to cover the expense of maintaining the line. The company was well equipped for handling both freight and passengers and offered stiff competition to other contenders for the Black Hills business. As we have seen above a number of the freighters transferred their outfits from Medora to Dickinson in '84. The teams were loaded for the heavy grades in the badlands and naturally carried less tonnage than when loaded from Dickinson, situated in a

more open country. Few freighters made more than one trip from Medora, although occasionally eastern consignors, influenced by the map alone, made their Hills consignment via Medora.

The competition of these western points, Dickinson and Medora, for the Hills transportation was keenly felt at Pierre. The latter had the stages and equipment which they did not wish to lie idle and at the next letting of the mail contract, Pierre made a low bid, getting the contract over her competitor, Medora. The Medora Stage, which had never been on a paying basis, had incurred its development work at great expense, with the anticipation of a continuance of a heavy passenger business, and with a hope, that amounted in De Mores' eyes, to an assurance that they would get the mail contract at the 1884 bidding. Failing in this there was nothing to do but to increase the business, curtail expenses, or quit. To increase the business was out of the question. There was a shake-up among the employees, Rassy Deffebach who had been superintendent of the company for eighteen months resigned. A. T. Packard, editor of the *Badlands Cowboy* at Medora, was the nominal but inactive manager. He now took active charge with an energy tinctured with despair in an effort to keep going.¹³ Expenses were cut. No more oats were bought. The teams were fed hay alone, but went down in flesh and spirits and soon became unable to do the work required of them. The end was in sight.¹⁴

¹³ Hagedorn, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands*, N. Y., 1921, p. 309.

¹⁴ The Medora Stage and Forwarding Co., of Medora, D. T., was incorporated and articles were filed December 8, 1884, in the Secretary of State's office, at Bismarck. The capital stock was \$30,000, divided into 300 shares of \$100.00 each with the following stockholders:

Marquis de Mores.....	290
William F. Van Driesche.....	5
Frank B. Allen.....	5

In some ways the Medora-Deadwood Stage more than met expectations.¹⁵ During the time it was in operation they encountered muddy roads, steep hills, carried heavy loads and sometimes with teams ready to run away at the drop of a hat, yet not an accident happened to a passenger and no coach was ever tipped over. Its record in this respect was unusual. Many dramatic and even tragic incidents are connected with the breaking of a double tree, or tongue, or neck yoke or a wheel in some badland or mountain road which rendered the load unmanageable and made the team fractious. When such a mishap occurred at night bruised bodies, if not broken bones, were sure to result.

Mention must be made of few who worked for the Medora Stage and Forwarding Co. I have already had occasion to mention Rassy Deffebach and A. T. Packard who served as superintendent and general manager of the company respectively. Oren Kindley, better known as "Nitch", who hauled oats and supplies for the various stations still lives in Medora where he has run the Northern Pacific pump station for many years. Bob Roberts and Vic. Smith helped in erecting the stage stations. The latter was one of the most renowned market-hunters in the region round about, conceded to be the best shot in this part of the country where every man was a good marksman. He acted as guide to the Marquis on some of his hunting trips and on several occasions hunted with Theodore Roosevelt

¹⁵ It seems that the conception of the stage line belonged to Von Hoffman, de Mores' father-in-law, rather than to the Marquis himself. The Marquis was not sanguine of its success and without the mail contract, it could but fail. John H. Goodall, when the Marquis appealed to him in his desperation, suggested that it be discontinued. The Marquis abruptly remarked, "Start to Deadwood in the morning and clean up back this way." Before this could be done legally it was necessary to give the required notice.

when the latter held interests at the Maltese Cross and the Elkhorn.

Among the drivers one of the best known was Jim Welch who came from Helena. He could "hit them all at once." Bill Luce another of the drivers came from the Grand River country. His fame as a driver was more than local. To be a good driver and handle two or three snaky teams from a seat atop a coach, one had to be strong physically, of steady nerve, fearless, quick and resourceful. Much experience was needed, too, to handle the teams so as to get every jump out of them and still fall short of overdoing. To know when to apply the whale bone and when to withhold it was necessary. Added to the perils of storms, mud, breakdowns, swollen rivers and runaways, was in that early day always the fear of Indian trouble or robbery at the hands of an organized band of road agents who lay in wait to relieve the stage coaches of the gold dust entrusted to their care, or the passengers of their pocket money.

In winding up the stage company, Packard received the help of Johnny Goodall, then ranch foreman for De Mores. Goodall with one of his cowmen went to Deadwood in the effort to salvage as much of the property as possible, and brought back horses, coaches and such equipment as they could not sell. The stage stopped sometime in the winter of '85-'86. The property was sold for what it would bring, and was scattered. One of the coaches is now in Miles City, and one at Mandan, both museum specimens of the days that were, used only at Fairs and Roundups to add a little of the frontier color to an otherwise monotonous program. The other two coaches are now, or were until recently, at Karlstad, Minnesota; with occupation

gone, and even if they could speak, would find no audience to take time to listen to their garrulous tales.

Marquis de Mores was trained in the French army, every inch a gentleman, energetic but visionary. He was an adventurer, not hesitating in the least in backing his vision with his money. While his ideas were impractical, yet his business investments were honorable; in fact their very boldness won, if not the approval, the admiration of the frontier, open-handed type of men. Neither the nature of his business nor the location was favorable to a successful outcome. His ventures were doomed from the beginning. Honest and confiding he trusted others to his financial hurt. Had it fallen to his lot to have settled in some other place and engaged in a business offering a fair show of success his financial resources might have made him successful as the world counts success. Not one lost on the Marquis's business ventures but himself, but these losses amounted to \$1,500,000, within a period of less than five years, and a by no means insignificant part being in the Medora-Deadwood stage line, run under the name of Medora Stage and Forwarding Company.¹⁶

¹⁶ The main source of information has been individual interviews. The chief persons interviewed are Rassy Deffebach, Superintendent of the Medora-Deadwood Stage line, John W. Goodall, Marquis de Mores' cattle foreman, J. W. Follis, for fourteen years foreman for the Three Seven, Jos. C. Meyer, an early hunter and rancher in Billings county, Nitch Kindley, camp tender for the Medora-Deadwood stage line, Frank Roberts and wife—both of whom lived in the country when the stage line was in operation and have lived here continuously since; the former serving as foreman for the H. T. ranch for some years; Joe and Sylvane Ferris, the former ran a store in Medora and the latter was foreman for Roosevelt at the Maltese Cross; Alf White, an early rancher in Billings county, now of Dickinson, and the late J. W. Foley, who was resident agent for de Mores. To all of whom grateful acknowledgment is given.

INDEX

- AABAKKEN**, Ole, 169
Aaberg, Rev. O. H., 168, note 35; 219, 229, note 91; 238, 241
Aaberg academy, N. D., 219
Aafedt, Peder, 170
Aagar, Fred, 127, 128
Aaker, H. H., 180; Lars, Minnesota senator, 137
Aal, Hallingdal, Norway, 149; congregation, 213, 230, 277
Aarnes, Martin, 169
Aas, Rev. Elias, 184, note 56
Aberdeen, Scotland, 300
Abrahamsen, A., 173, 174
Acoma, Minn., 114
Acton, Minn., 108, 111, 116, 120
Ada, Minn., 237, 238, 267
Adams, Jack, 115; Mrs. Jack, captured by Indians, 115
Adrianson, Rev. J. F., 228
Agnes, N. D., 168, 169, 170
Alaska, 226, 236, 259, 260
Albert Lea, Minn., 271
Alberta, Canada, 219, 255, 295, note 11
Alexandria, Minn., 69, 70, 137, 138, 151, 152, 153, 157, 162, 216, 280
Alfson, Herbjorn, 164, note 27; John, 164, note 27
Allen, Frank B., 320, note 14; Rev. H., 230, note 91
Arapahoe Indians, 310
Archambault, Frenchman on Missouri river, 127
Arikara Indians, 32; village on the Missouri river, 88
Arikara White Man, Dakota name for Pierre Garreau, 43
Arlington Park Hotel, Grand Forks, N. D., 175
Armstrong, Moses K. 167
Arnesen, A., 156
Arneson, E., 175; Hans, 271; Torsten, 150
Arnold, Henry, 128; *History of Grand Forks County*, 168, note 34
Arrow, Devils Lake steamboat, 301
Asheim, Aesten, 267; Levin, 267; Peer, pioneer experiences of, 267
Ashtabula Harbor, Ohio, 62
Assiniboine Indians, Primeau trades with, 86
Atkinson, James, 109
Atwater, Minn., 120
Audubon, Minn., 217
Augsburg Seminary, Minn., 148, 206, 207, 244, 269, 277
Aurdal, Norway, 169; congregation, 216, 277
Avon, N. D., 159
Alpha, Red River steamboat, 77, 95
Alte, Anna, 185, note 58
Amboy, Ohio, 61, 119
Americus, N. D., 159, 163, 164
Amerika, 239
American Fur Company, 81
Amidon, N. D., 312, note 9
Amiotte, Joseph, pilot on the *Cheyenne*, 95
Amundgaard, A., 188, note 61
Amundson, Emma, 185, note 58; Ole, 166, note 32
Anderbakken, Halvor, 267
Anderson, A. A., 183, note 54; B. C., Hedemarken, Norway, 149; Bernt C., Wild Rice, N. D., 150, note 11, 153; Capt., 98, 100; Carl, 177, note 44; Jens, Perley, Minn., 149; Johannes, 251, note 117; John, 191, note 64, 281; Joseph, 92; Margaret, 183, note 54; Marius, 163, 164, note 26; Oscar, 191, note 64; Paul, 205; Peder, 255; Rev. A. C., 238; Rev. Bersvend, 218, 227 and note 85, 267; biographical sketch of, 253; Rev. O. K., 230; Wm., 130
Andrewson, Ole, 199, 200; Paul, 200; Rev. Ole, 205
Aneta, N. D., 255, 270, 276
Anti - Missourian Brotherhood, 204, 207, 212, 221, 228, 231
Anoka, Minn., 3, 58

- Antelope*, steamboat on Missouri river, 27
Appelton, Minn., 274; Wis., 276
Apple Creek, N. D., 129
Apple river, N. D., 56
- BADLANDS COWBOY, 313, 320
Bachelor's Grove, 168 and note 35; 238, 241
Bailey, John W., 127
Baker, family of, 108; Howard, 120
Bakke, Ellef, 166, note 32
Bakken, Anders, 165; C. H., 166, note 32
Bakkedahl, Knut, 171, note 39
Baldani, H., 191, note 64
Bale, Rev. Jens, 219, 229, note 91; 235
Bang congregation, 262, note 129
Bangs, Geo. A., 290, note 5; Tracy R., 290, note 5, 306, note 41
Bannack, Mont., 310
Bardo, Norway, 253
Barker, John, 127
Barlow, Augustus, sketch of, 79; John, 79 and note 23; Mrs. Augustus, 92, note 29
Barlow's Grove, 92, 94
Barnes, Henry, 129
Barnes county, N. D., 213, 214, 224, note 78; 225
Barnett, Gen. James, 62
Barron, Charley, 93
Bartholomew, John, 78
Bartholomew Block, Grand Forks, N. D., 78, note 11
Bartlett, N. D., 287, 288 and note 3; 289, 290 and note 5; 301, 304, 305
Bartlett, Frank, 290, 304
Barton, N. D., 215
Barton, Edgar V., 289, note 4
Basque county, Texas, 147
Baukal, P. H., 175
Bear hunting, Hutchinson, Minn., 105, note 39
Beauchamp, Peter, 98
Beaupoire, Louis, 84
Becancour, Canada, 79, 93
Belding, John P., 303
Belfield, N. D., 244, 245
Bellfourche, S. D., 313
Belmont, N. D., 142, 159, 263, 266
Beloit, Wisconsin, 206
Bendeke, Halfdan, 191
Bendickson, N. L., 175
Bensen, Ole, 155
Benson, Minn., 273
Benson, Elizabeth, J., 1, 2; Thomas, 306, note 41
Bentestuen, Nils, 166, note 30
Bentli, G. T., 166, note 32; Ole, 166, note 32
Bentru, N. D., 159, 160 and note 19; 164 and notes 27 and 28
Bentru, Halvor, 160
Berbenbeck, C. S., 191, note 64
Berg, Anton, 175, 188, notes 61 and 62; Ingv. A., 175; Halvor, 165; Jacob, 266; N. H., 181, note 51
Bergen, Norway, 247, note 110; 250, note 114
Bergens Stift, Norway, 170
Bergerson, Soren, 152
Bergh, *Den Norsk Lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika*, 211, note 42
Bergh, Emil, 186, note 60; Rev. J. A., 218, 255, note 122.
Bergsrud, Jens, 166, note 30
Berlin, Wis., 293, note 10
Bertrand, Missouri river steamboat, 81
Bethany church, Grand Forks, N. D., 223
Betts, Manfred, 6th Iowa Cavalry, 14; note 11; 15
Bibeaux, Joseph, 81
Biggerstaff, Hugh, 73
Big Horn river, Montana, 101
Big Mound, N. D., 118
Big Stone lake, Minn., 117
Bildn, Jacob, 166, note 32; Paul, 166, note 32
Billings county, N. D., 323, note 16

- Biographical Sketches of North Dakota pioneers, 61
- Bismarck, N. D., 263, 280, 296, 303, 304, 305, 311, 318
- Bissell, L. D., 290, note 5; 306, note 41
- Brink, Judson, 104, 113
- Bjarne, Grand Forks glee club, 189
- Bjarne Male Chorus, history of, 188
- Bjerke, Hans, 153
- Bjorgenson, Rev. F., 230, note 91
- Bjorgo, Knut, 250, note 114; Rev. K., 216, 229, note 91; 235, 249, 250 and note 114
- Bjornson, Iver, 166, note 31
- Black Earth, Wis., 169, 250, note 115
- Black Buffalo, Dakota Indian, 21
- Blackfoot Indians, 85
- Black Hills, S. D., 130, 261, 309, 310, 311
- Black Moon, Dakota chief, 51
- Black River Falls, Wis., 294, note 10
- Blackstad, H., 171, note 39
- Blackstock, guard at wood camp, 128
- Blakely and Carpenter, mail contractors, 72; stage line, 74, 75
- Blanchard, N. D., 270, 275
- Bloody Knife, Arikara Indian, 28, 34, 35, 44, 98
- Blooming, N. D., 172
- Blooming Prairie, Minn., 170, 171, note 39
- Blue Blanket Creek, 26, 28
- Board of Immigration, Minnesota, 136, 137
- Bob-tailed Bull, Arikara Indian, 129
- Boe, Amund A., 172
- Bolken, N. D., 213
- Boller, *Among the Indians*, 40, note 35
- Bon Homme, S. D., 128
- Bordrud, A. P., 153
- Bostad, Rev. O. H., 218
- Boston, Mass., 226
- Bothne, *Illustreret Kirketidende*, 221, note 71
- Bothne, Rev. J. G. D., 229, note 91
- Bottineau county, N. D., 228
- Bowmanville, Canada, 302, note 27
- Boyeson, O. H., 190
- Braaten, Rev. S. O., 230, note 91; biographical sketch of, 240
- Brage, Thief River Falls glee club, 189
- Brainerd, Minn., 71
- Bramble, D. T., 318
- Bramble and Keyes, 318
- Brandon, Manitoba, Canada, 95
- Brandsen, Herbrand, 166, note 32
- Brandt, J. F., 186, note 60
- Branhan, Jesse, 111, 113
- Brannum, Jesse, 124
- Braseth, A. O., 186, note 60
- Bratton, Luther R., 293; Robert, 306, note 41
- Breaking plow, first in North Dakota, 71
- Breckenridge, Minn., 160, 215, 247, 279
- Breidablik, Rev. J. J., 228
- Brekke, Dr. Olav B., 176
- Brenna, N. D., 159, 172; Orjans, 172
- Bridger, James, 49
- Bridston, John, 175, 183, note 54
- Brigham Young, 199
- Brink, C. O., 153
- Broadside poster, Medora Black Hills stage line, 309
- Broadwater, Charles A., Fort Benton, Mont., 20, note 21
- Brodtkorb, O., 190, note 63
- Broen, Rev. E., 208
- Bronlid, Rev. C. J., 238
- Brono, Rev. J. H., 230
- Brook, James V., 293
- Brookings, S. D., 215, 303
- Brorby, Jacob, 166, note 31; Ole, 166, note 31
- Brown, Norwegian merchant in Alexandria, 138, 145; Joseph, chief of scouts, 117; Rev., Stillwater, Minn., 91; W. H., 173

- Brown's Valley, Minn., 300
 Bruflat Academy, N. D., 217, 235
 Bruflat congregation, 262, note 129; 277
 Brugh, ex-governor, 71, note 7
 Brum, *Fra Ungdomsaar*, 204, 207, note 9
 Brumbaugh, Isaac, 6, 19, note 20
 Brundsdaal, Ole, 166, note 30
 Brunsvold, Rev. A. A., 231
 Buckner, William, negro porter on *Deer Lodge*, 127
 Budge, Wm., 173, 296, 297, 299
 Bue post office, N. D., 270
 Buell, Gen. D. C., 65, 66 and note 3
 Buffalo, N. D., 224, note 78
 Buffalo Bill, 67
 Buffalo bones, gathered by pioneers, 269; shipped to St. Louis, 302
 Buffalo county, Wis., 239
Buffalo Courier, 71, note 7
 Buffalo hunt, 1883, 103
 Buffalo lake, Minn., 118
 Buffalo river, Minn., 140; N. D., 248
 Buffalo robes, tanning of, 31, note 26
 Buford and Fisher, Stillwater House, Stillwater, Minn., 91
 Bull creek, S. D., 313
 Bulberry island, S. D., 127
 Bunday, William, 161, notes 22 and 24
 Burgess, George, 306, note 41
 Burke, Capt., 118
 Burleigh, Walter A., S. D., 128
 Burleigh county, N. D., 245
 Burnett, Dr. J. A., 300
 Burtness, Ellev, 171, note 39; Guttorm, 171, note 39; Knut, 171, note 39
 Burton, F. L., 298; T. E., Ohio, 64, note 2
 Buxton, N. D., 224, 262, note 129; 266, 267, 269
 Bydal, Thorvald, 186, note 60
 Bye, Christian, 152; Peter, 164, note 27; P. I., 190, note 63; P. J., 173
 Bygland, Minn., 262 and note 129
 Bygland, H. A., 188, note 61
 Cady, Capt. John S., killed by Little Crow, 53
 Caledonia, N. D., 156, 165, 167, 250, 261, 272, 276, 278, 282
 Calderwood, Edgar, 306, note 41; R. M., 290; V. E., 290
 Camp Chase, Ohio, 64
 Camp Dennison, Ohio, 64
 Camp Dick Robinson, Kentucky, 64
 Camp Hayes, N. D., 117
 Camp Pope, Minn., 117
 Camp Release, Minn., 115, 116
 Campbell, Jane, 79, note 23
 Canada, 226, note 82
 Canadian Pacific Railway, 95
 Canfield, director Northern Pacific Railway Co., 70, 72
 Cannes, France, 311, note 7
 Cannon Ball river, N. D., 8, 129, 130, 312
 Canton, S. D., 206, 304
 Cap O'Gray, Missouri, 92
 Cardinal, fur trade employee, 81
 Carls, Ole, 166, note 31
 Carlson, Rev. T. L. A. K., 215, 229, note 91
 Carlstrom, Dr., 185, note 58
 Carpenter, C. W., 314
 Carricks Ford, Virginia, 63
 Carver, Minn., 107
 Carver, Lili, 183, note 54
 Carver county, Minn., Norwegians and Swedes in, 148
 Cashel, J. L., 300, 305
 Cass county, N. D., 152, 153, 154, 212, 214, 216, 219, 220, 224, note 78; 227, 229, note 91; 230; first farmers in, 149; first permanent Norwegian settler in, 149
 Cassell, Geneva, Ohio, 62; Maria, 104
 Cattle driving, St. Cloud to Win-nipeg, 73
 Cavalier county, N. D., 213, 214, 224, note 78; 240

- Cavalier county churches, 225
 Cedar creek, S. D., 312
 Cedar lake, Minn., 106, note 41;
 107, 109, 116, 118
 Cedar Mills, Minn., 109, 113
 Cedar river, Minn., 107
 Cerro Gordo county, Iowa, 293,
 note 10
 Chalk Buttes, N. D., 8
 Chalky Buttes, 312, note 9
 Chardon, Elizabeth, Kaskaskia,
 Ill., 92 and note 29
 Charlton, mill wright, Fort Tot-
 ten, 76
 Chase, K., 69; Salmon P., ex-
 secretary of treasury, 68
 Chesley, James, 114
Cheyenne, Red River steamboat,
 77, 95
 Cheyenne, Wyoming, 310, 314
 Cheyenne Indians, 310; descrip-
 tion of the Custer fight, 38
 Chicago, Ill., 162, 174, 197, 226.
 note 82; 260, 300
 Chicago fire, 1871, 94
Chicago Tribune, 71, note 7
 Chickamauga, battle of, 175
 Chippewa river, Minn., 106
 Cholera, in St. Louis, 88
 Cholera John, 89
 Choteau and Co., 84
 Christen, Walter, 166, note 32
 Christensen, F. S., 137
 Christenson, Benjamin, 169
 Christiania, Norway, 134, 135, 157
 Christiania Hotel, Grand Forks,
 N. D., 175
 Christiania University, 202
 Christiansand, Norway, 258
 Christiansen, Mabel, 183, note
 54; Maggie, 188, note 61; Rena,
 187, 188, note 62
 Christianson, former rancher
 near Colgant, 257; O. O., 178,
 note 46
 Christine, N. D., 227
 Chrysostom, Father, Bismarck,
 N. D., 102
 Churchs Ferry, N. D., 289
 Claggett, Montana, 103
 Claresholm, Canada, 295, note 11
 Clark, A. W., 299; Charles J., 6;
 W. G., St. Louis, Missouri, 93
 Clark Hotel, Duluth, Minn., 69
 Clausen, C. L., 197; Rev. C. F.,
 205, 206
 Clayton county, Iowa, 165
 Clemansen, Henry, 153
 Clement, Basil, 127
Clermont, Fulton's steamboat, 120
 Clifford, N. D., 262, note 129;
 275
 Cobb, Elisa, 96; John, 96
 Cody, William, 67
 Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, 319
 Cold Hand, Dakota scout, 126
 Cold Turkey creek, S. D., 312
 Cold Spring, Minn., 107
 Cold Springs, Wis., 104
 Cole, stage driver at Georgetown,
 73
 Coleman, John, 100
 Colfax, V. P., 71, note 7
 Colgant, N. D., 257
 Collins, *Across the plains in 1864*,
 309, note 3
 Collins, Ethel A., 1
 Columbus, Ohio, 63
 Colosky, Joseph, 73
 Comfort, Nicholas, 128; Patrick,
 128, 129
*Compendium of History and Bi-
 ograph of North Dakota*, 152,
 note 13; 170, note 38; 171, note
 40; 172, note 41
 Concord coach, 315
 Concordia Seminary, Springfield,
 Ill., 251, note 117; St. Louis,
 Mo., 250, note 114
 Concordia Theological Seminary,
 259
 Conneautville, Penn., 61
 Connell, Alexander, 313
 Connelly, engineer of *Cheyenne*,
 95
 Conway, N. D., 251
 Cook, William, stage driver, 302,
 note 27
 Coombs, Vincent, 109
 Coon Prairie, Wis., 151

- Cooperstown, N. D., 213, 304
Cosmos, Minn., 106, note 41
Couch, William, 123
Courtney, clerk at Fort Berthold, 98
Crampton, Dr., post surgeon at Fort Buford, 102
Crary, N. D., 290, note 5; 291, note 8; 301, 305
Crary, N. D., history of, 287
Crary, John, 288, note 3; 291 and note 6; 292, 293, 306; Mrs. John, 288, note 3; 293; W. A., 287 and note 2; 288, 291, notes 6 and 7; 292, 293, 294, 306 and note 41; sketch of, 288, note 3
Crawford, Lewis F., 309
Creel, Colonel H. M., 303, note 32
Cresien, Julius, 306, note 41
Crooked creek, N. D., 312
Crooks, Col., 56
Crookston, Minn., 177, note 45; 178, 189, 218, 253, 262 and note 129
Crosby, N. D., 256
Crow-Fly-High, Hidatsa Indian, 99
Crow Indian houses, description of, 99
Crow Indians, Montana, 83
Crow river, Minn., 106, note 41
Crystal Springs, N. D., 280
Cumberland Gap, Virginia, 64, 66
Cummings, N. D., 262, note 129
Currier, C. A., 306 and note 40
Custer expedition, 1874, 309, note 3
Cutts, R. W., 173

DACOTAH HOTEL, N. D., 79
Dahl, Charles, 306, note 41; Christian, 306, note 41; Hans, 168; Ole, 181, note 51; Peter, 306, note 41; Pres. T. H., 245
Dahlen, N. D., 241
Daily, N. D., 213
Dakota attack on Ft. Berthold, 44, 46
Dakota, Hudson Bay Co. steamboat, 94, 278
Dakota Indians, at Fort Berthold, 33, 34; cross Missouri river ahead of Gen. Sibley's army, 56; cross Missouri river by rafts, 1863, 57
Dakota Territory, 304
Dalene, Norway, 243
Dane county, Wis., 169
Davey, Capt., member of relief expedition from Ft. Rice, 18
Davis creek, Dak. Ter., 312
Dawes, L. G., donates site of Ft. Dils, 14, note 12
Dawson, Arnold, 287
Dazey, N. D., 225
Deaconess hospital, Grand Forks, history of, 176, 180
Dead Buffalo lake, N. D., 118
Deadwood, S. D., 303, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 322
Decorah, Iowa, 203, 236, 259
Deep creek, N. D., 9
Deer Lodge, Missouri river steamboat, 127
Deffebach, Erasmus, 312, 315, 320, 321, 323, note 16
DeLong, A. H., biographical sketch of, 104; Cordelia J., 119; Emily M., 119; Francis, 119; Frank, 119; Henry H., 303; Hiram, 104; Mary E., 119; Thaddeus, 119
Del Rapids, S. D., 226
DeMers, Charles, pilot on the Red river, 95
DeMores, Marquis, 311, and note 7; 312, 313, 314, 320 and note 14; 321, 323
DeSmet, Father, 29, 30, note 23
Dennison, Ia., 126
Denver, Colorado, 314, note 11
Desilets, Lewis, 79, note 23
DeValombrosa, M. Antoine, 311, note 7
Devils Lake, N. D., 55, 118, 189, 219, 220, 241, 262, 289, note 4; 290, 291, note 8; 294, note 10; 297, 301, 303, note 32; 304, 305

- Devils Lake Chautauqua, 301, note 26
 Devils Lake townsite company, 297
 Dewey, cattle herder, Iowa, 126
 Diamond lake, Minn., 120
 Dickinson and Deadwood Transportation Co., 318
 Dickinson, N. D., 311, 313, 314, 318, 319, 320, 323, note 16
 Dickinson county, Iowa, 170
Dickinson Press, 311, note 6, 313
 Dietrichsen, Rev. Wilhelm, 197, 198
 Dill, Col., 7
 Dillon, John, 127
 Dilts, Jefferson, 6, 10, 15
 Dock, Ole, 171
 Dockward, Joseph, 94
 Dodge county, Minn., 170
 Dogden Butte, N. D., 41, 97
 Doheny, Rose, 306; Walter J., 289, 306
 Dokken, Ole, 160; Tollef, 170
 Douglas county, Ia., 152; Minn., 162, 214
 Douglas, C. M., 298
 Dow, J. E., 73
 Drag-the-Stone, Dakota Indian, 28
 Dragseth, Sivert, 154
 Drammen, Norway, 164
 Draxton, R. S., 185, note 58; Sivert, 166, note 32
 Drengsen, Tarje, 162, note 24
 Dribble, Charles, 297
 Briscoll, N. D., 244
 Dry Dam, Wis., 90
 Dry Fork creek, N. D., 103
 Dubuque, Ia., 120, 274, 297
 DuCheneault, 129
 Dutely, *Grand Forks Illustrated*, 173, note 43
 Duffey, Harry, 128
 Dugoll, Julius, 95
 Duly, Capt. William J., 117 and note 43
 Duluth, Minn., 3
 Dunn, W. S., 101
 Dunn county, Wis., 154
 Durfee and Peck, Indian traders, 99; purchasers of Northwest Co. posts, 29, 30
 Dutch stockholders, St. Paul, Minnesota and Manitoba Railroad Co., 270
 Dundee, Wis., 288, note 3
 EAST GRAND FORKS, Minn., 71, 278
 East Forest river, N. D., 251, note 118
Eclipse, Missouri river steamboat, 102
 Eddie, H. N., 174; Nick, 166, note 30
 Edgar, Fred, 127, 128
 Edwards, Rev., 181, note 51
 Eggen, Rev. T. H., 177, note 44
 Eide, T. H., 191, note 64
 Eidem, Ole, 166, note 32; Peter, 166, note 32
 Eielsen, Rev. Elling, 197, 198, 199
 Eielson, Ole, 184, note 56
 Eilsen's synod, 201
 Eight Mile Point, N. D., 94
 Eighth Minnesota, company A, 53
 Eikeland, Rev. A. I., 183, note 55; 184, note 56; 185, note 58
 Eikland, A., 186, note 60
 Ekern, Dr. A., 176
 Elgin, Iowa, 166
 Elkhorn ranch, 322
 Elk hunting, Minn., 106, note 40
 Elk Valley, N. D., 168, and note 35; 169, 241, 294, note 10
 Elk Valley county, N. D., 251, note 118
 Elk Valley Norwegian Lutheran congregation, 168, note 35
Ellen May No. 2, river steamboat, 80, 88, 89
 Ellertson, Elling, 169; Nils, 169
 Ellestad, O. T., 175
 Ellinganer congregation, 249
 Ellingson, Ole, 188, notes 61 and 62; S. G., 175
 Elm Grove, N. D., 168, 169
 Elm river, N. D., 73, 209, 215, 234, 236, 250, 272, 279
 Elm river bridge, 282

- Elm River congregation, 262, note 129
 Elm River stage station, 281
 Ellsworth, Kansas, frontier town, 67
 Enderlin, N. D., 213, 244, 246, 247, note 109
 Endresen, *History of Norman congregation*, 215, note 49
 Engen, Thomas, 166, note 32
 Enger, F. G., 181, note 51; 183, note 54; Mrs., 152
 Engh, Christian, 169
 Engstad, Dr. J. E., 176, 180
 Ensign, Dwight W., 289, note 4
 Ensrud, Miss B., 188, note 61
 Epping, N. D., 293, note 9
 Ericksen, Laura, 234; Randi, 243
 Erickson, Alexander, 166, note 32; Amund, 164, note 27; Arne, 164, note 27; H. M., 186, note 60; Norwegian settler, in Minnesota massacre, 122, 123
 Eriksen, Anna, 251, note 117
Erindringer, by Rev. Ole Paulson, 148
 Eske, Rev. J. J., 228
 Eshelman, J. S., 296
 Evangelical Lutheran church, 200, 211
 Evangelical Lutheran church in the Red River valley, 227
Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende, 248, note 111; 249, note 113
 Evanger, Norway, 250, note 114
 Evanson, Chr., 186, note 60; P. S., 183, and note 55; 184, note 56; 185, note 58
 Evansville, Minn., 69
 Evensen, Pederon, 186, note 60
 Evenson, E., 178; Erick, 166, note 32; Rev. G., 227
 FADDE, John, 75
Fædrelandet og Emigranten, Norwegian paper, LaCrosse, Wis., 135
 Fagstad, Ole, 169
 Faken, Peder, 171, note 39
Far West, Missouri river steamboat, 101, 130
 Faribault, Minn., 174, 226
 Farmer's Valley, N. D., 246
Fatherland and Emigrant, Norwegian paper, LaCrosse, Wis., 135
 Fargo, N. D., 149, 167, 189, 218, 219, 223, 229, note 91; 230, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 248, 250, 253, 261, 263, 265, 272, 280, 281, 282, 303, 305
Fargo Forum, 150, note 11
 Fergus Falls, Minn., 189, 236, 245, 288, note 3
 Ferris, Joseph, 323, note 16; Sylvane, 323, note 16
 Ferry, N. D., 172
 Ferry boat, Red river, 164
 Fevold, Jacob, 263
 Fewer, Lewis, 9; Walter, 9
 Fifteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, 175
 Fillmore county, Minn., 149, 151, 160, 161, 162, note 24; 163, 164, 169, 171, 173, 177, note 44; 260
 Fire Heart, Dakota chief, 51; story of massacre of gold miners, 53
 First grist mill, in North Dakota, 76
 First Lutheran church, Grand Forks, N. D., 256, note 125
 First Minnesota Infantry, 3
 First Minnesota Mounted Rangers, 6
 First Minnesota Rangers, Company C, 54
 First Ohio Light Artillery, Battery C, 64
 First Ohio Volunteer Light Artillery, recognized by federal law as firing first shot in Rebellion, 64, note 2
 First U. S. Infantry, 19
 Fisher, Minn., 163, 164, 238, 262, note 129
 Fisher's Landing, Minn., 77, 95
 Fisk, Capt. J. L., 5, 8, 17, and note 18; 18; Van., brother of Capt. Fisk, 13
 Fisk expedition, 1864, 1
 Fitzpatrick, John, 101

- Fitzsimmons, Hugh, 306, note 41
 Fjelde, Dr. H., 133, note 1; Sig-
 vart, 186, note 60
 Fladager, Paul, 166, note 32
 Fladeland, Arne, 161; H. A., 163;
 T. J., 124
 Flatboat McLean, 95
 Flaten, Prof. N., 177, note 44;
 Rev. C. A., 229, note 91
 Flint, Mich., 79
 Floberg, E., 156; O., 156
 Flom, Marion, 183, note 54
 Flour, prices paid for, 1869, 143
 Flour mill, Grand Forks, 164
 Floyd county, Iowa, 288, note 3
 Foley, J. W., 323, note 16; Mike,
 Moorhead, Minn., 50, note 38;
 Thomas, 130
 Follis, J. W., 323, note 16
 Fond du Lac county, Wis., 288,
 note 3
 Fool Boy, Dakota Indian, at Fort
 Rice, 52
 Foot, Silas, 122, 123; Solomon,
 121, 123
 Foot Lake, 121
 Ford, A. J., 318; Rev. N., 218
 Fordal, Ole, 152
 Forde, Rev. N., 234; Rev. N. J.,
 229, note 91
 Fordville, N. D., 224
 Forest City, Minn., 104, 109, 116,
 119, 120, 121, 124
 Forest river, N. D., 165, 170, 209,
 217
 Forseth, B. O., 186, note 60;
 S. S., 183, note 54
 Forslof, Peter, 291, note 6; 296,
 306, note 41
 Fort Abercrombie, N. D., 5, 97,
 100, 117, 125, 140, 141, 145, 146,
 148, 153, 154, 155, 162, 214, 248,
 280
 Fort Abraham Lincoln, 310
 Fort Atchinson, N. D., 118
 Fort Benton, Mont., 20, note 21;
 29
 Fort Berthold, N. D., 21, 28, 29,
 30, 35, 97, 98, 100; Dakota at-
 tack on, 44, 46; trade goods at,
 31, note 25; trader at, secures
 gold of slain miners, 51, and
 note 39; trading methods at,
 32, 33
 Fort Buford, N. D., 81, 88, 96,
 97, 98, 99, 100, 102
 Fort Clark, N. D., 40
 Fort Diltz, Dak. Ter., 8, 19; de-
 scription of its construction, 14
 Fort Donelson, Kentucky, 65
 Fort Ellsworth, Kansas, 67
 Fort Fetterman, 32
 Fort Garry, Canada, 74, 140, 143,
 162
 Fort Mandan, 88
 Fort Meade, 318
 Fort Peck, Mont., 103
 Fort Pierre, S. D., 117, note 43;
 310, 318
 Fort Randall, S. D., 55, 128
 Fort Ransom, N. D., 220
 Fort Rice, N. D., 7, 15, 18, 19, 20,
 25, 29, 51, 126; ex-rebels at, 19
 Fort Ridgely, Minn., 6, 19, note
 20; 116, 118
 Fort Snelling, Minn., 5, 81, 89,
 107
 Fort Stevenson, N. D., 35, 98, 100
 Fort Sully, S. D., 23, 29, 128
 Fort Totten, N. D., 97, 98, 100,
 154, 269, 298, 301
 Fort Totten Indian reservation,
 209
 Fort Union, N. D., 29, 30, note
 23; 99, 102
 Fort Wadsworth, S. D., 7
 Fort Yates, N. D., 127, 128, 129,
 130, 245
 Fosmark, Rev. O. N., 234
 Foss, Charles J., 171; N., 188,
 note 61
 Fourteenth Ohio regiment, 63
 Fourth Kentucky regiment, 65
 Fox river, Ill., 197, 198
Fram, 243, note 107
 Fram, Norway, 251, note 117
 Franckean synod, 205
Franklin No. 2, river steamboat,
 90
 Franklin school, N. D., 217
 Fredrick, Juliana, 183, note 54
 Fredricksen, C., 153

- Fredrickson, Marie, 183, note 54
 Frederikshald, Norway, 255, note 122
 Free Church, Norway, 208
 Free Congregation, 249
 Freeborn county, Minn., 165, 169, 271, 276
 Fremstad, H. N., 190
 Freshwater lake, N. D., 289, note 4
 Froen's congregation, 253
 Frog Point, Dak. Ter., 142, 215, 263, 264, 266, 272, 278
 Frosten, Norway, 170
 Frye, Col., Fourth Kentucky regiment, 65; Col., kills Gen. Zollcoffer, 65
 Fuglem, Peter, 166, note 32
 Furuness, John, 189

 GAARDEN, Jens, 249
 Gaasetjon, Knut, 166, note 30
 Galesburg, Ill., 79
 Galpin, Major C. E., 20, 22, 27, 52, 117, note 43; 127; Sam, 23
 Galena, Ill., 88, 120
 Galveston, Texas, 226
 Gardepie, Joseph, 92
 Gardner, William, 130
 Garnet, Gen., killed, 64
 Garreau, Pierre, Fort Berthold, Dak. Ter., 29, 32, 57; Dakota name, Arikara White Man, (Padani Wasecun), 43; death of, 48; death of his three sons, 48; experiences at Ft. Berthold, 39; parentage of, 39, and note 34; 40, note 35
 Garver, Minn., 116
 Gates, J. H., 120
 Gaustad, Knut, 243; Rev. Th. K., 243, 247, note 109
 Gayton, William, 129, 130
 Genealogy of the Viets family, 61, note 1
 Geneva, Ohio, 62
 General Synodical Conference, 203
General U. S. Grant, steamboat on the Missouri river, 7
 Genin, Father, missionary station of, on Red river, 141
 George Pelissier ranch, 312, and note 8
 German Lutherans, 262
 Georgetown, Minn., 69, 70, 125, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 212, 215, 229, 277, 279, 282
 Geraker, Rev., 271, note 139
 Gerard, F. F., interpreter at Fort Berthold, 98
 Gerro, Fort Buford, 99
 Gibbs, C. D., 99
 Gilbertsen, Anton, 166, note 30
 Gilbertson, G. L., 186, note 60
 Gilby, N. D., 171, 172
 Gildeskaals Prestegjeld, Norway, 169
 Gile, W. D., 306, note 41
 Gill, Captain, 247, note 110
 Gilmer and Salisbury Stage Co., 314, 315
 Gjerseeth, *History of the Norwegian People*, 134, note 2
 Gjerstad, Rev. C. C., 228
 G. K. Warren Post, No. 17, 96
 Gladstone, N. D., 311
 Glencoe, Minn., 114, 115, 116
 Glendive, Mont., 244, 245
 Gold miners, ambuscade of, 48
 Gold mines of Lake Vermilion, 4, note 3
 Goodhue county, Minn., 161, 162, 169, 171, 172, 215, 240, note 102; 247, 248
 Goose, Arikara Indian, 21, 35, 38
 Goose river, N. D., 73, 161, 164, 165, 167, 209, 213, 215, 216, 230, 233, 234, 235, 250, 261, 266, note 134; 268, 271, 273, 276, 277, 283, note 144
 Goose River settlement, N. D., 216, 249
 Goodall, John H., 321, note 15; 322; John W., 323, note 16
 Gordon, Hans, 261; M. L., 175
 Grace, N. D., 159
 Grafton, N. D., 177, note 44; 213, 217, 224, note 78; 228, 230, note 91; 238, 300, 305

- Grand county, Minn., 162, 163, note 25
- Gran congregation, 216, note 54; 250, 261, 277
- Grand Forks, N. D., 75, 159, 162, 164, 167, 168, note 35; 170, 173, 175, 177, note 44; 183, note 54; 189, 223, 230, note 91; 237, 265, 271, note 138; 278, 281, 287, 288, note 3; 290, note 5; 291, note 8; 297, 298, 302, note 27; 303, 305; history of, 172, 173; Norwegian settlement in, 172, and note 42
- Grand Forks College, history of, 176
- Grand Forks county, N. D., 165, 168, 169, 213, 214, 219, 220, 222, 224, note 78; 227, 229, note 91; 230, note 91; 240, 241, 245, 251 and note 118; settlement of Norwegians in, 159
- Grand Forks Herald*, 287, note 1; 289, note 4; 297, note 12; 298, note 14; 299, note 16; 300, note 19; 301, note 24; 302, note 28; 303, note 29; 304, note 33; 305, note 37
- Grand Forks steam laundry, 288, note 3
- Grand Forks Tidende*, 174
- Grand Harbor, N. D., 289, 305
- Grand Isle, Vermont, 104
- Grand river, 312
- Grand River Indian Agency, 128
- Grandin farm, 163
- Granrud, Ole, 175
- Grasshopper plague, Dak. Ter., 151, 161
- Gray, Tom, 310, note 23
- Great Northern Railway, 96
- Green Lake, Minn., 122
- Greenleaf, Minn., 104, 106, 108; hunting and trapping at, 105
- Greenleaf, C. A., 119; Mrs. W. H., 119; William H., 104, 119
- Grefsheim, Martin, 166, note 30
- Grey Wolf, Dakota Indian, killed by Garreau, 47
- Griffin, 100
- Griggs, Alexnader, 77, 95, 172, 173, 278, 296, 297, 299; John, Capt. of the *Cheyenne*, 95; William, pilot on the Red river, 95
- Griggs county, N. D., 213, 214, 220, 223, 224, note 78, 225
- Grimes, Walter, 9
- Grina, M. O., 166, note 31
- Grinnell, George W., 103
- Gron Dahl, Lars, 234
- Gronli, Ole, 166, note 30
- Gronlid, Rev. C. J. M., 229, note 91
- Gronvold, Rev. O. C., 230, note 91
- Grosvenor, E. W., 298
- Grothe, John, 151
- Groton, New York, 2
- Grue, Norway, 169
- Gudbrandsdalen, Norway, 169, 174, 251, note 117; 269
- Gunderson, Gabriel, 267; Mrs. Gabriel, pioneer experiences of, 266
- Gulliksen, Helge, 249
- Gunderson, George, 164; Iver, 169; Tom, 150
- Guttebo, K. L., 235
- HAABET congregation, 213
- Haagen son, H., 153
- Hadeland, Norway, 166
- Haga, A. J., 166, note 31; Gudmund, 166, note 31; Lars, 166, note 31
- Hagboe, Rev. B., 214, 215, 218, 230, 248, 249, 266 and note 134; Rev. N. B., 277
- Hage, N. A., 151; R. R., 151
- Hagedorn, *Theodore Roosevelt in the Badlands*, 320, note 13
- Hagen, Erick, 306, note 41; Jens, 155; Ole, 166, 306, note 41; Samuel, 306, note 41
- Hagland, Knut, 164
- Halfway creek, Wisconsin, 203
- Halley, Northwest Co. director, 23
- Hallick, Jorgen, 171

- Hallingdal, Norway, 153, 157, 159, 160, 165, 166, 170, 240, 242
- Halstad, Minn., 151
- Halstad, Ole, 151
- Halstensen, Ole, 240
- Halvorson, Siver, 166, note 31
- Halvorson, Hermo, 171, note 39; H. P., 189; Nils, 166, note 32; Rev. Johannes, 230, note 91
- Hamar, Norway, 251, note 117; 255, note 122
- Hamilton, Major J. G., 78, 174
- Hampson, Fred, 238
- Hamre, P. P., 171
- Hanafin, Dennis, 100
- Hankey, Frank, 290, note 5
- Hansen, Erik, 150; Herman, 186, note 60; Marie, 183, note 54; Paul Hjelm, 133, 134, 135, 136-47, 152, 156; description of journey in Red River valley, 138, 139; Rev. Soren, 230, note 91; 238
- Hanson, Anders, 261; Christ, 191; Edward, 161, 164; Halvor, 160; Hans, 169; pioneer experiences of, 279; Peter, 166, note 31; P. G., 178, note 46
- Hanrahan, Tom, 301, note 23
- Haraldsen, Ole, 166, note 30
- Haraldson, Alick, 186, note 60
- Harding, John, 128
- Hard Horn, Arikara Indian, 98
- Harrington, Capt., Ill., 114, 116
- Harris, Joe D., 121
- Harrisburg, N. D., 301
- Harrison, John, 130
- Harrisno, Minn., 120, 121, 123
- Harstad, Knut, 162, note 24; Rev. Bjug, 204, 217, 229, note 91; 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 240, 265, 277; biographical sketch of, 258
- Hart, W., Fort Buford, 99
- Hartford, Conn., 119
- Hartshorn, James, 85
- Harvey, Alexander, 86 and note 27
- Harvey, Picotte, Primeau and Bouise, fur trade company, 81 and note 25
- Hassell, L. K., 174, 186 and note 60; 189, 190 and note 63
- Hatch's battalion, 125
- Hatton, N. D., 177, note 44; 181, note 51; 183, 189, 238, 262, note 129
- Haug, O., 188, note 61
- Hauge, Hans Nilsen, 196
- Haugen, Carl, 186, note 60; Halvor, 170; H. P., 181, note 51; M. A., 186, note 60; Ole, 171, 181, note 51; Rev. J. O., 238; Sara, 183, note 54
- Hauge's Evangelical Norwegian Lutheran synod, 201
- Hauge's synod, 207, 208, 211, 218, 220, 222, 223, 228, 253, 254; in the Red River valley, 227
- Haukom, Rev. A., 181, note 51; Rev. O. S., 181 and note 51; 182, note 53; 230
- Hauske, L. L., 151
- Havre, France, 157
- Haycock, William, 67
- Haywood, Wisconsin, 306, note 40
- Hazen, Gen., Fort Buford, 103, note 36; 133
- Heart river, N. D., 245, 246
- Hedemarken, Norway, 149, 255, note 122
- Hedger, Charles, 126
- Hedger and Vogue, contractors, Sioux City, Iowa, 126
- Heerman, Captain E. E., 301
- Hegg, Col., death of, 175
- Heimholdt, G., 186, note 60
- Helena*, Missouri river steamboat, 102
- Helena, Mont., 20, note 21; 310, 315, 316, 322
- Heller, shot by Indians, 114
- Hellestvedt, Rev. J. A., 216, 229, note 91
- Helson, N. D., 246
- Heltetvedt, Ole Olsen, 196
- Hemnes congregation, 212, 214, 227, 253

- Hendrickson, Peder, 170; Thor, 171
 Hendrum, Minn., 234, 235, 238, 262, note 129
 Hensel, N. D., 148, 224, note 78
 Hensrud, Iver, 171, note 39
 Herberg, Mikael, Fargo, N. D., 149
 Herbjorn, Hans, 164, note 27
 Herbrandsen, Ole, 153; P., 156; Tom, 150
 Herleikson, Ellef, 166, note 32
 Herron, Henry, 130
 Hersgaard, Ole, 153; Peter, 153
 Heskin, S., 216, note 53; S. N., 250; Sven, pioneer experiences of, 276
 Hesper, Ia., 170
 Hewson, Pat, 101
 Hexom, O., 190, note 63
 Hickson, N. D., 209, 212, 229, note 91
 Hidatsa Indians, 32
 Hidatsa village, Missouri river, 87
 Higgins, St. Louis, hunter for Choteau and Co., 84
 Hilden, A. J., 173
 Hill, President James J., 270, 271, note 138; 303; Rev. L. C., 230
 Hill, Griggs and Co., 72
 Hille, Peder, 152
 Hillesland, Anton, History of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in the Red River Valley, 193; E. B., 275
 Hillsboro, N. D., 213, 221, 223, 230, 261, 262 and note 129; 267, 269, 271, note 141; 281, 283, note 144; 300
Hillsboro Banner, 209, note 37
 Historical notes on the Norwegians in the Red River Valley, 133
History of Norwegian Immigration, 195, note 1
 Hjelmeland, Norway, 267, note 136
 Hoel, Einar, 154; Erik, 155; O. S., 188, notes 61 and 62; Syver, 155
 Hoel congregation, 277
 Hoff, Rev. C. L., 230
 Hoffman, Rev., 197
 Hoffmaster, Brackett's battalion, 16
 Hofto, Bjorgo, 162, note 24; Knut, 164; K. A., 183, note 54
 Hoiland, N. D., 262, note 129
 Hoiland, Peter, 276
 Hoiland congregation, 241
 Hoimoe, Ole, 186, note 60
 Hol, Norway, 165, 213
 Holand, A. P., 175, 186, note 60
 Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie*, 196, note 5; 199, note 12
 Holcombe, Edward, 95
 Holden, Jennie, 294, note 10; Thomas, 291, note 6
 Holen, Ole E., pioneer experiences of, 269
 Holes, Andrew, Fargo, N. D., 150
 Holmen, J., 153
 Holmes, Forest City, Minn., 111; D. M., 75
 Holseth, Rev. M. C., 220 and note 69; 230, note 91; 240, 241 and note 104; 242
 Hommelvig, Jonas, 152
 Hoop lake, Minn., 111
 Hoople, N. D., 229, note 91
 Hop Hollow, Ill., 85, note 26
 Hopper, Andrew Jr., 115; Andrew Sr., 111, 113
 Horace, N. D., 153
 Horsehead bottom, N. D., 129, 130
 Host, Gunnar, 190
 Hotel English, Indianapolis, Ind., 79
 Hotel Hall, Grand Forks, N. D., 77
 Houle, Jean Baptiste, 79, note 23
 Hovde, Rev. K. R., 178
 Hoverson, Christian, 169; Hover, 169
 Hovland, H., 156; Halvor, 166, note 31; Hans, 166, note 31; Ole, 153
 H. T. ranch, 323, note 16
 Hudson, Michigan, 1, 2

- Hudson Bay Company, 68, 70, 173, 264, 270, 272, 277; cattle herd, 76; ferry, Red river, 277; mail coach, 279; Red river steamboats, 142; steamboat, 278; store, N. D., 94; trade, 74; threshing machine, 282; withdraws from U. S., 76
- Hudson Bay Company mill, Grand Forks, N. D., 75
- Hukee, Mabel, 183, note 54
- Hunter, N. D., 224, note 78
- Hunter, Frank, 127
- Hurst, Anthony C., 174
- Huseby, Andrew, 306
- Hutchinson, Minn., 55, 105, note 39; 110, 113, 115, 116, 119
- Hutchinson, Capt. of *Ellen May* No. 2, 81; George R., 70
- Hvidsten, G., 188, note 61
- ICELANDIC synod, 220, 223
- Idaho, gold mines in, 5
- Indiana University, school of pharmacy, 175
- Ingebrightson, Peter, 248
- Ingvaldsen, I., 156
- Ingvaldson, Ingvald, 263
- Inkster, N. D., 170, 291, note 8
- International*, Hudson Bay Co. steamboat, 71, 278
- Indian agencies, Dak. Ter., 107
- Indian farm school, S. D., 128
- Indian Massacre, 240, note 102
- Iowa, 266
- Iowa point, Missouri, 88
- Iversen, Bernt, 171
- Iverson, Nils, 186, note 60; Ole, 172
- JACKSON county, Wis., 294, note 10
- Jacobsen, Torvald, 155
- Jacobson, G. B., pioneer experiences of, 263; Johan, 152
- Jaeger, Luther, 146, note 6
- Jahren, Rev., H. J., 228, note 89
- James river, N. D., 6, 210, 216
- Jamestown, N. D., 280
- Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, 199
- Jeglum, Herbrand, 170
- Jenny expedition, 1875, 309, note 3
- Jensen, Lars, 186, note 60
- Jerusalem, N. D., 290, note 5; 301
- Johnson, Adnund, 161; Berge, B., 263; Bersvend, 190, note 63; Hans, 281; Henry, 171; J. H., 191; James, 6; Judge Sveinbjorn, 221, note 70; Knut, 186, note 60; Lieut., 10, note 7; Martin, 152, 166, note 31; M. N., 241, note 104; Mrs. Elizabeth, 39, note 33; Nils, 166, note 32; Paul C., 165
- Johnston, Gen., 66
- Jordon and Leighton, Fort Buford, 100
- Jones, killed by Indians, Minnesota massacre, 120
- Jorgenson, Knut, 160
- Josness, Norway, 267, note 136
- Jossendal, O. T., 166, note 30
- KAASA, Rev. O., 253; Rev. O. J., 214, 227
- Kaldor, Christian, 271, 273 and note 142; Mathias, pioneer experiences of, 271; Simeon, 271 and note 141; 273 and note 142
- Kansas and Pacific railway, 67, 68
- Kandyohi lake, Minn., 121
- Kapler, Mathew, 128
- Karlstad, Minn., 322
- Kasberg, Professor K. A., 178
- Kaskaskia, Ill., 92
- Keller, Mrs., 306
- Kelly, N. D., 181, note 51
- Kelly, Col., First W. Va., regiment, 63; Mrs. Fannie, 11, note 8; 17 and note 18; Patrick, 306; Tom, 292
- Kelley, Thomas, 306
- Kelley's Point, 73
- Kennedy, Dr. V. P., 108
- Kenney, Capt. Dennis, 62, 66
- Kevenau*, lake steamboat, 68
- Kidder county, N. D., 245
- Kindley, Oren, 321, 323, note 16

- King, Dana E., 104, 118; Mrs. Dana E., 119
 Kipp, James, 29
 Kittelson, Sigbjorn, 161
 Kittson, Norman W., 77, 173
 Kjerulf, Hatton-Northwood glee club, 189
 Kjorlien, K. K., 186, note 60
 Kjorven, A. J., 166, note 32
 Kjorvestad, Ole, 161
 Kjos, Torsten, 166, note 32
 Klep, H., 156
 Kleven, Louis, 186, note 60; Ole M., 166, note 30
 Knights of Pythias, Grand Forks, organization of, 78
 Knoff, I. C., 189
 Knudson, Andrew, 186, note 60; Col. A., 174; Ole, 275; Professor R. S., 176
 Knudson House, Grand Forks, N. D., 174
 Knutsen, Kjetil, 187, 188, notes 61 and 62
 Knutson, R. S., 177, note 44
 Koch, Capt. of *Nor*, 135
 Kolstad, Martin, 306
 Korsmo, Nils, 165; Peter, 181, note 51; 183, note 54
 Koshkonong, Wis., 158, 169, 202
 Krause, Rev., 197
 Krogen, Norway, 253
 Krogstad, Andrew, 152
 Krumshoien, Tore Lebacken, 267
 Krosby, G. J., 152
 Kvamme, Rev. O. K., 230
 Kvasager, Knut, 161
 Kyllo, Louis, 169
- LaCROSSE, Wis., 135, 137, 174, 175, 203, 280
 LaFrambois, Frank, 117; Joseph, 117
 Lake Allie, 115
 Lake Lillian, Minn., 55, 56
 Lake Park, Minn., 216, 235, 249, 250, note 114
 Lake St. Croix, 81, 90
 Lake Traverse, 5
 Lake Vermillion, Minn., 3, 4
 Lakeville, Minn., 172
- Lakota, N. D., 251
 LaMoure, Jud, 296, 297, 302
 Landry, Joseph, 79, note 23
Landstads Salmebog, 240
 Lange, Harald, 186, note 60
 Langeland, Rev. H., 230
 Langemo, Rev. H., 230, note 91; Rev. P. T. P., 230, note 91
 Langhei, Norway, 173
 Langmyhr, Hans, 191, note 64
 Langord and Lien, Grand Forks firm, 174
 Langord, Haakon, 186, note 60; Henry, 173
 Langseth, O. C., 190, note 63
 Langstad, Ingvald, 186, note 60
 Lansing, Mich., 35
 Lansing State Savings bank, 36, note 30
 Lapham, A. J., 130
 LaPierre, Homer, 295
 LaPorte county, Ind., 293, note 10
Larpenteur, Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri, 81, note 25
 Larpenteur, Charles, 101
 Larimore, N. D., 170, 241, 294, note 10; 300, 301, 302, note 27, 303
 Larned, Ebenezer, 1, note 1; Edward S., 39, note 33; Frederick J., 39, note 33; H. H., 1, 2, 3; Robert Y., 39, note 33; Silvanus, 1, note 1; William L., 1 and note 1; 2, 3; Mrs. W. L., 15
 Larsen, Carl, 156; Christian, 156; Engebret, 156; Rev. Lauritz, 202, 203
 Larson, Ingebret, 250; Knud, 171; L. B., 151; Professor Laur, 178; Rev., 187, 188, notes 61 and 62; Rev. B. J., 178, note 46; Rev. G. A., 230, note 91; Rev. Th. H., 228, note 89; Salemon, 163; Swen, 170
 LaSalle county, Ill., 197, 258, 260
 LaSeur, Minn., 120
 Lasher, Henry, 109
 Laundry, Alexander, 128

- Laurie, John, 306
 Layer, Joseph, 127
 LaVere, Frenchman at wood camp, 128
 Lavik, Rev. R. A., 228, note 89
 Leathertail, James, pilot on the Red river, 95
 Lebacken, Tore, 267
 LaCrosse, Wis., 93
 Lee, N. D., 213
 Lee, Ole, 152; Ole Jr., 149
 Leen, S. O., 190, note 63
 Leighton, Joseph, 100
 Leighton and Jordan, post traders, Fort Buford, 103
 Lein, Rev. A. E., 178 and note 46
 Leine, Thomas, 166, note 31
 Leing, Ole, 164, note 27
 Lejamtel, Father, 79, note 23
 LeMoine, Joseph, hunter on the Yellowstone river, 84
 Lennan, I. P., 6
 Lerken chorus, Grand Forks, N. D., 190
 Lewis, Chas, 306, note 41
 Lewiston, N. D., 104
 Lucas, deserted from U. S. Army, 130
 Lynch, Mike, 301, note 23
 Lyren, Abercrombie glee club, 189
 Lysing, K., 186, note 60
 Lyster Prestegjæld, Norway, 174
 Libby, Charles L., 6, 10, 14, note 13
 Lidberg, Peder, 171; Torvald, 171
 Lieberg, Peter, 181, note 51; T. A., 181, note 51; 183, note 54
 Lien, Ole, 170; Rev. A., 250, note 116
 Lievold, Sivert, 155
 Lillehammer, Norway, 169
 Lind, N. D., 159, 166 and note 32
 Litchfield, Minn., 104, note 38; 119
 Little Big Horn battle, 1876, described by Cheyennes, 38
 Little Big Horn battlefield, 130
 Little Crow, Dakota chief, 107
 Little Crow, killing of Capt. John S. Cady, 53
 Little Crow, son of, 54, 118
 Little Forks congregation, 213, 277
 Little Soldier bottom, S. D., 129
 Lisbon, Ill., 200
 Ljom, Fergus Falls glee club, 189
 Locke, Hugh, Bismarck, N. D., 128
 Locken, Einar, 274; Ingebrigt, pioneer experiences of, 273
 Lodmell, A. M., 175, 186, note 60
 Loe, Rev. Edward, 177, note 44
 Lofoten, Norway, 253
 Lofthus, Albert, 268
 Log rafts on the Mississippi river, 89, 90
 Lohnes, Ed., 296
 Lohre, Rev. N. J., 216, note 54; 224, note 77
 Lommen, Miss B., 188, note 61; Miss M., 188, note 61
 Long Bear, Arikara Indian, 98
 Long Hair, Pierre Garreau's Indian name, 41
 Long lake, Minn., 118
 Long Mandan, Mandan Indian, description of Capt. Clark, 35, note 29; recalls the Lewis and Clark expedition, 35, note 29
 Lonne, Rev. J. I., 220, 230
 Lookout Mountain, Tenn., 66
 Lorensen, Ed., 177, note 44
 Lossius, Dr. M., 176
 Louisville, Kentucky, 65
 Lounsberry, *History of North Dakota*, 244, note 108
 Lovsness, Engel, 151
 Lowe, Albert, 166, note 32
 Lowell, Jake, 72
 Lowell Hill, West Virginia, 63
 Lower Cheyenne Agency, S. D., 127
 Loyland, A., 160; A. N., 161, note 21; Halvor, death of, 160, note 20; Inger, 160; John, 160; Nils Oleson, 160; Mrs. Nils Oleson, 160; Ole, 160; Ole Sr., 160; Tarje, 160; Tollef, 160; T. F., 160
 Luce, William, 322
 Ludington, Governor, Wis., 174
 Lund, Stavanger, Norway, 147

- Lunde, Norway, 168
 Lundeberg, Rev. K. O., 208
 Lundeby, Rev. I. L., 220, 230, 269, 270
 Lunseth, John, 186, note 60; 191; Rasmus, 191, note 65
 Lutheran Brethren, 208 and note 33; 221, 222, 224, 231
 Luther College, Decorah, Ia., 179, 203, 233, 240, 250, note 1; 251, note 117; 256, note 125; 259
 Luther Seminary, 240, 251, note 117; 256, note 125
 Luther Valley church, 255, note 122
 Lutheran Free church, 207, 208, 221, 222, 224, 231
Lutheran World Almanac, 1921, 201, note 19; 204, note 25; 207, note 31; 208, note 32; 209, note 35
Lutheraner, 219, note 61
 McASKILL, Alexander, Montana, 99
 McCanna, N. D., 238
 McCanna, Margaret, 102
 McCarty, Winnipeg, Canada, 95; John, 129
 McCauleyville, Minn., 69, 70, 97
 McCauley, David, 72
 McClosky, 300
 McClure, pioneer settler, 275; Elizabeth, 126
 McComb, James, Stillwater, Minnesota, 92
 McCormack, M. L., pilot on the Red river, 95, 172
 McCormack and Griggs, Grand Forks, N. D., 94
 McCormick reaper, 163
 McCullough, John, 306, note 41; William, 290, note 5
 McDonald, James, 119; May, 288, note 3; Mrs. A., 287; Samuel, 306, note 41
 McGill, A. R., 299
 McGowan, Henry, 108
 McGraw, Daniel, 109
 McHenry, N. D., 256
 McIntyre, W. A., 306, note 41; William, 290, note 5
 McKelvey, John, 78
 McKenzie, Alex, 303; Lieut., killed by Indians, 99
 McKenzie butte, N. D., 99
 McKinley, William, 127, 129
 McLaughlin, Maj. James, 76
 McLean, Flatboat, 95
 McLean's ranch, Apple Creek, N. D., 129
 McLeod, Capt. George, 117; D. C., 291, note 6; 295, 306, note 41
 McMaster, Civil War draft evader, 122
 McPhail, Col., 56; Sandy, 91, 92
 McRae, John, 173
 McTavish, John, 74
 McVillie, N. D., 251, note 118; 256
 Madson, John, 169, 186, note 60
 Madison, Wis., 174, 203, 204
 Magnuson, A., 175
 Magnussen, Gertrud, 250, note 114
 Mahood, James, 306, note 41
 Maldrum, head man of Choteau and Co., 84
 Malnouri, Charles, 98
 Maltese Cross ranch, 322, 323, note 16
 Mananah, Minn., 118
 Mandan, N. D., 244, 322
 Mandan Indians, 32; village on the Missouri river, 88
 Mandt, Ole, 166, note 30; P. O., 166, note 30
 Man-eating Dutchman, 75, note 10
 Manitoba, Canada, 218, 270
Manitoba, Red river steamboat, 95
 Manitowoc county, Wis., 169
 Mankato, Minn., hostile Indians hung at, 117
 Marvel, N. D., 181, note 51
 Maple river, N. D., 209, 213, 215
 Marietta, Ohio, 63
 Marion hotel, Marion, Ohio, 79
 Markhus, Rev. L. J., 216, 229, note 91

- Marmarth, N. D., 246
Marquette, Red river steamboat, 95
 Marr, Rebecca A., 291, note 8
 Marsh, Abraham, 126; Andrew, biographical sketch, 126; Capt. Grant, 130; D. W., Fort Berthold, 29; James, 126
 Marsh river, Minn., 151, 236, 237, 249, 261, 262
 Marshall, Wm. R., 145
 Marshall county, Minn., 217
 Marshall school, S. D., 206
 Martin, Fort Buford, 99
 Martinson, Ole, 155
 Mason City, Iowa, 294, note 10
 Mathews, Edwin B., 104, note 37; Elizabeth B., 104, note 37; George A., 303; James R., 104, note 37; John C., 104, note 37; Mrs. Robert C., 104, note 37; Robert C., 104, note 37; biographical sketch of, 96; William H., 104; note 37
 Mauvaise coulee, 289
 Maurseth, T. H., 166, note 32
 Maxwell House, Nashville, Tenn., 66
 Mayville, N. D., 213, 216, note 54; 223, 224, note 77; 228, 261, 262, note 129; 270, 277, 283, note 144
 Medora, N. D., 311, 312, 313, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 323, note 16
 Medora Black Hills Stage line, sketch of, 309
 Medora Stage and Forwarding Co., 320, note 14; 321
 Meyer, Joseph C., 323, note 16
 Mehle, John, 270, 275
 Mekinock, N. D., 159, 170, 171, note 39; 172, 181, note 51
 Memphis, Tenn., 126
 Mennonites, 95
 Mentone Hall, 78
 Mercer county, N. D., 245
 Merchants Hotel, Bismarck, N. D., 100
 Merker, Norway, 175
 Merriam, Wilder and Anderson, St. Paul, 97
 Messina, N. Y., 293
 Michelle, St. Louis, 85 and note 26; 87
 Midbo, T., 185, note 58
 Midtre Sogn, Norway, 247, note 110
 Midway, N. D., 291, note 5; 292
 Mikkelsen, Jens, 156
 Miles City, Montana, 102, 103, 245, 316, 322
 Mills Springs, Kentucky, 64
 Miller, Joseph, 127
 Milton, N. D., 214
 Milwaukee, Wis., 158, 174, 197, 300
Miner, Northwest Co. steamboat, 23
 Minneapolis, Minn., 137, 175, 181 and note 51; 183, note 54; 203, 226, 237, 247, note 110; 269; 300
 Minneapolis and Northern Elevator company, 294
Minneapolis Star, 239
Minneapolis Times, 239
 Minnesota, 215, 238, 243, 254
Minnesota, Red river steamboat, 95
 Minnesota Circuit of Norwegian synod, 250, note 114
 Minnesota Massacre, 120; first outbreak, 108
 Minnesota Point, 76
 Minnesota river, Minn., 116, 264
Minnie H., Devils Lake steamboat, 301 and note 26
 Minto, N. D., 170
 Mississippi river, 274
 Missouri river, 244, 245; crossed by Fisk expedition, 7
 Missouri synod, 203
 Mitchell, member of Fisk expedition, 17
 Mitchell county, Ia., 156, 168, 169, 172
 Mo, Anders, 155
 Moaas, Knut Steenerson, 156 and note 16
 Mobridge, S. D., 129

- Moe, H. A., 190, note 63; Ole, 162, note 24; O. A., 190, note 63
- Moen, Helge, 171, note 39; Lars, 271; Ole, 155, 170, 186, note 60
- Monseau, Rev. J. A., 79, note 23
- Monson, Rev. J. G., 178, note 46; Thomas, 173
- Montana, gold mines in, 5
- Montana gold miners, massacre of, 48
- Monticello, Minn., 124
- Montrose, Iowa, 92
- Moody, S. D., 302
- Moore, Ed., Fort Buford, 101; Wm., 318
- Moorhead, Minn., 71, 148, 149, 189, 209, 234, 235, 236, 247, 248, 249, 264, 278, 280
- Moorhead Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran congregation, 249
- Moreau river, S. D., 81
- Morgenbladet*, Norwegian paper at Christiania, 135, note 3
- Mork, Elling, 252; Lars, 165; Nils, 252
- Mormons, missionary work of, 198
- Morris, Minn., 71, 107, note 41; 153, 154, 301
- Morton county, N. D., 245
- Moseide, Ragna, 183, note 54
- Mosher, Charley, 91
- Mouse river, N. D., 168, note 35; 210, 217, 230, note 91; 262
- Mt. Horeb, Wis., 239
- Muddy creek, N. D., 103
- Muri, A. O., 171, note 39
- Murphy, John, 129
- Muskoka, Canada, 302
- Muscatine, Iowa, 91
- Mutual Protection Gold Mining Co., 4, note 3
- Muus, Rev. B. J., 216, 238
- Myers, Charles, H., 303
- Myhra, Hans, 155; Lars, 237; Rena, 183, note 54; Swen, 164, note 27
- Mykleby, Asbjorn, 186, note 60
- Myrum, Bjug, 161; Kjetil, 161, 162
- NAGEL, John, boss farmer at Ft. Berthold, 98; Henry, 127, 128
- Narveson, Narve, 166, note 30
- Nash, W. C., 71
- Nashville, Tenn., 65
- Nave, Gunder, 188, note 61
- Nazareth congregation, 241
- Negro Tom, 128
- Nellie Kent*, Mississippi river steamboat, 95
- Nelson, N. D., 213, 214
- Nelson, Andrew, 121; Edna, 183, note 54; J. G., 153; Knute, 69, 237; N., 153; Nils, 181, note 51; N. E., customs collector at Pembina, 148; Ole, 153; P., 153
- Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians in the United States*, 198, note 11; 196, note 3; 197, note 8; 202, note 21; 204, notes 22 and 24; 206, note 28; 207, note 30
- Nelson county, N. D., 177, note 44; 220, 224, note 78; 227, 230, note 91; 240, 241, 251 and note 118; 255, 256, 267, note 136; 269, 275
- Nelson county churches, 225
- Nesheim, Rev. L. J., 227
- Ness, Frida, 183, note 54; Rev. J. M. O., 230, note 91; 238
- Nesseth, Henry, 291, note 6; H. O., 306, note 41; Ole, 291, note 6; 296
- Nesson, N. D., 103
- Neste, T. E., 171
- Neve, *A Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America*, 198, note 10; 199, note 13; 200, note 15; 201, note 17; 208, note 34
- Newburg, Minn., 151; N. D., 165
- New England Furniture company, Minneapolis, Minn., 76
- New Haven, Conn., 119
- Newson, Major T. M., 4, note 3
- New Ulm, Minn., 240, note 102
- New York Sun*, 71, note 7
- Niagara, N. D., 241
- Nichols, Celia, 118; Ed., 106; Seth, 107

- Nicholson, Cora, 183, note 54;
H. A., 301 and note 25
- Nicollet county, Minn., 171
- Nielsville, Minn., 262, note 129
- Nilsen, Julia, 244; Nicolai, 152
- Nilson, Thorvald, 188, note 61
- Njaa, Rev. S. H., 185, note 58
- Nokkelby, Henry, 166, note 31;
John, 166, note 31
- Nokken, P., 149, 150; Peder, 248
- Nommeland, Knut, 265
- Nonen, N. D., 257
- Nor, passenger ship, 135
- Nora, John, 188, note 61; Knut,
187, 188, notes 61 and 62
- Norden, Chicago, Ill., 239
- Norden, Devils Lake glee club,
189
- Nordisk Folkeblad, Norwegian
paper in Minneapolis, 138
- Nordland, Norway, 253
- Nordlandings, congregations of,
254
- Nordling, Selma, 183, note 54
- Norland, Norway, 227
- Norlie, *Nordmændene i Amerika*,
148, note 9; 149, note 10; 150,
note 11; 152, note 12; 154, note
14; 155, note 15; 165, note 29;
166, note 31; *Norsk Lutherske
Menigheder i Amerika*, 200,
note 14; 210, note 38; 211, note
41; 212, note 43; 214, notes 45
and 46; 216, note 51; 218, note
60; 220, note 67; 222, note 75;
225, note 78; 226, note 81;
*Norsk Lutherske Prester i
Amerika*, 214, note 47; 216,
note 52; 218, notes 57, 58, 59,
62, 63, 64, 65; 230, note 92;
232, note 97; *Visergutten*, 196,
note 4; 197, note 9.
- Norman, N. D., 219
- Norman county, Minn., 150, 151,
152, 233
- Normand congregation, 215
- Normanden, 156, note 16; 172,
note 42; 176, 180, notes 48, 49
and 50; 181, note 52; 182, note
53; 183, note 55; 185, note 58;
187, 188, note 61; 191, note 65;
239
- Norröna, Moorhead glee club,
189; Petersburg glee club, 189
- Norsk Amerikanernes Festskrift*,
Norwegian paper in Decorah,
Iowa, 138
- Norsk Lutherske Prester i Ame-
rika*, 200, note 16; 201, note
18; 202, note 20
- North Dakota, Compendium of
History and Biography of*, 170,
note 38; 171, note 40; 172,
note 41
- Northern Illinois synod, 200, 205
- Northern Pacific railway, 68, 150,
247, 249, 260, 263, 280, 304, 305,
310, 312, 314
- Northern Pacific Railway com-
pany, 71, 72
- Northern Shyenne Valley con-
gregation, 213
- Northfield, Minn., 233, 239
- Northrup, George, 296
- Northwest*, Red river steamboat,
95
- Northwest Co., 30; post at Ft.
Sully, 24; sells posts to Durfee
and Peck, 29; store at Fort
Rice, 20, 22; trading post at
Ft. Berthold, 21
- Northwest Express Stage and
Transportation Co., 314
- Northwest Hotel, Grand Forks,
N. D., 94, 173; description of,
75
- Northwood, Iowa, 165; N. D.,
159, 164, 165 and note 29; 166
and note 31; 169; 181, note
51; 183 and note 54; 185, note
58; 189, 213, 238, 262, note 129;
276, note 143; 277
- Northwood Deaconess hospital,
history of, 183
- Northwood Old Peoples home,
history of, 183
- Norway lake, Minn., 216
- Norwegian college, Parkland,
Wash., 259

- Norwegian Danish conference, 206, 207, 211, 271, note 139; 277
- Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran church, 202
- Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran synod, 178
- Norwegian Lutheran church, 201
- Norwegian Lutheran Church in the Red River Valley, history of, 195
- Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, 204, 208, 228
- Norwegian Lutheran synod, 259
- Norwegian Lutheran Synodical organizations, 199
- Norwegian Synod, 203, 211, 220, 223, 247, note 110; 261, 277; history of, 201
- Norwegian Synod of America, 204
- Norwegians, settlement in Grand Forks county, 159
- Nudick, member of Fisk expedition, 1864, 10
- Nummedal, Norway, 153
- Nygaard, Syvert, 170
- Nyhus, Ole Ellingson, 166, note 30
- Nykreim, Rev. P. A., 217, 218, 230
- OAK LAKE, Minn., 214
- Oats, first crop of, N. D., 103
- Odalen, Norway, 164
- Odd Fellows Hall, Grand Forks, N. D., 187.
- Odessa, N. D., 291, 293, 297, 298, 300, 302 and note 27; 303, 304, 305
- Odessa Townsite company, 303
- Odlaug, Arnt, 186, note 60
- O'Fallon's Creek, Montana, 81, 83
- Ofstedal, Rev. J. A., 231
- Oftedal, Swen, 206, 207
- Ohio Light Artillery, organized, 63
- Ohio Stage Co., 61
- Ojata, N. D., 291, note 8
- Old Crossing, 69
- Oldham, Alexander, 78, 298
- Old Paul, Dakota Indian, 117
- Olds, Frank P., 306, note 41
- Oliver county, N. D., 245
- Olsen, Claus, 150; Gilbert, 155; Halvor, 153; Lars, 170; Martin, 150; Rev. H. C., 178, note 46
- Olson, A. K., 188, note 61; Andreas, 166, note 32; Christ, 166, note 32; Daniel, 147, 148; Fredrick, 166, note 31; Johan, 155; Lars, 266; Paul, Trondhjem, Norway, 151; Rev., 247, note 110; William, 166, note 32
- Omang, Bernt, 171
- Omeland, Rev. J. G., 230
- Omli, A. T., 161; Swen, 161
- Onsager, Ole, 166, note 30
- Ontario, Canada, 291, note 8; 302, note 27
- Ontario county, Canada, 291, note 8
- Opheim, Alma, 183, note 54; K., 178, note 46
- Opsahl, C. H., 175
- Ora, N. D., 275
- Orchard, James, 306, note 41; sketch of, 302, note 27
- Ordway, Gov., 289, note 4; 305
- Orpheus, Fargo glee club, 189
- Orr, William, 306, note 41
- Osakis, Minn., 69
- Osborn, Jerusha P., 119
- Osland and Henderson, 318
- Ossian, Ia., 263, 267
- Ostlie, H. N., 185, note 58
- Ostmo, Amund, 181, note 51; 183, note 54
- Ostmoe, A. N., 181, note 51
- Oswego, N. D., 213
- Other Day, Dakota chief, 110, 111
- Ottertail county, Minn., 140, 150, 153, 161, 162, 163, 214, 215, 235, 253, 273, 288, note 3; 293
- Ottertail river, Minn., ferry at, 69
- Otto, Arnold, 187, 188, note 62
- Overland, J. O., 171, note 39
- Ovind, C. J., 166, note 30

- Owatanna, Minn., 120
 Owen, Marie, 183, note 54
 Oxford, Mass., 1, 2
- PACIFIC district of Norwegian synod, 259
 Pacific Lutheran Academy, 236; description of, 260, note 127
 Packard, A. T., 320, 321, 322
 Padani Wasecun, (Arikara White Man), Dakota name for Pierre Garreau, 43
 Painsville, Minn., 124
 Park township, Norwegian settlement in, 148
 Parker, George, 306, note 41; Horace, 306, note 41; William, 306, note 41
 Parkin, N. D., 244, 246
 Parkland, Wash., 168, note 35; 258, 259, 261, note 128; 263, note 130
 Park River, N. D., 209, 213, 218, 262, 263
 Park River, N. D., 214, 217, 238
 Patineau, Charles, 98, 129
 Patterson, St. Louis, Missouri, 93
 Pauly, Stillwater, Minn., 93
 Paulsness, B. O., 175, 186, note 60
 Paulson, A. O., 151; Knut, 165; Ole, 151; P. A., 151; Rev. Ole, 148; Rev. Ole, author of *Erindringer*, 148; Sivert, 151
 Paxton, Ill., 205
 Peder, H. P., 166, note 32
 Pederson, August, 164; Anton, 190, note 63; Christian, 160, note 19; 164 and note 28; Dr. O. F., 183, note 55; 184, note 56; 185, note 58; Edward, 185; Gullick, 190 and note 63; Hans, 188, note 61; Harold, 177, note 44; Ole, 171, note 39; P. C., 164; P. F., 166, note 32; Peder, 186, note 60; Rev. J. U., 230; Theodore, 169
 Pekin, N. D., 256 and note 123; 124
 Pelican lake, Minn., 140
 Pelkie, Fort Buford, 99
 Pembina, N. D., 125, 147, 148, 278, 279, 282, 300, 302, note 27; First Lutheran church in, 213
 Pembina county, N. D., 213, 214, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 236, 289, note 4; Norwegians in, 148
 Pembina river, N. D., 262
 Pendergast Academy, Minn., 115
 Pennell and Jones, 318
 Peoria, Ill., 80
 Perley, Minn., 149, 152, 237, 238
 Perro, Joseph, pilot on Mississippi river, 89, 91
 Perrington, James, 90
 Perry, N. D., 262, note 129
 Person, Kleng, 196
 Petersburg, N. D., 189, 241, note 104; 251, note 117; 252 and note 119
 Peterson, Ellen, 306, note 41; Peter, 168, 169; Rev., Petersburg named from, 241, note 104
 Philippi, West Virginia, 63
 Phillips, Lieut., 7
 Picotte, Joseph, 86, 87
 Pierce county, N. D., 293
 Pierre, S. D., 129, 314, 319, 320
 Pierrepont, New York, 288, note 3
 Pillsbury, N. D., 225
 Pipe Lake, Minn., 118
 Pittsburg Landing, battle of, 65
 Plainville, Ohio, 96
 Pleasant View, N. D., 159
 Plum Creek, Minn., 120
 Plummer, A. L., 300
 Plymouth, N. D., 168
 Portland, N. D., 235
 Polk City, Minn., 262 and note 129
 Polk county, Minn., 238
 Pomme de Terre, 73
 Pomme de Terre river, Minn., 107, note 41; 140
 Pool's Island, N. D., 290, note 5
 Pope, Gen., 5
 Porcupine, Dakota Indian, 9, note 6; 12, note 9; 17, note 17; 24, 25, 27
 Portland, N. D., 178, 179, 181, note 51; 183, note 54; 216 and note 53; 217, 250, note 116; 262, note 129; 276, 277; Oregon, 104

- Post, Mary E., 119
 Potsdam, N. Y., 288, note 3
 Powder river, Mont., 101
 Prairie fire, pioneer experiences with, 270
 Presbyterian Church, Grand Forks, N. D., 78
 Prestbo, John, 189
 Preus, Rev. H. A., 215
 Prescott, Wis., 93
 Prescott, H. L., 300
 Primeau, Charles, 81, 86
 Probstfield, R. M., 70
 Prosser, *History of the Puget Sound country*, 260, note 127
 Puritan lake, Minn., 118
- QUAM congregation, 213
 Quammen, Sven, 160
 Quanrud, Lars, 171
 Quincy, N. D., 279
- RAAEN, Thomas, 165
 Racine, Wis., 107
 Racine county, Wis., 174
 Ramsey county, N. D., 289, note 4
 Ramsfjeld, Jacob Berg, 266 and note 135; Osmond, 266 and note 135
 Ransom county, N. D., 213, 214, 220, 222, 224, note 78; 225, 228, 229, note 91
 Rapid City, S. D., 130
 Rasmussen, Rev. P. A., 200
 Rauk, Knut Olsen, early settler in Dakota territory, 156, 157, 158
 Ray, Capt. of the *Success*, 127
 Reah, H. H., 166, note 32
 Reardon, Ruth, 183, note 54
 Red river, N. D., 159, 167, 209, 234, 237, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 277, 279
 Red River settlement, 214; Minn., 215
 Red River Transportation company, 77
 Red River valley, description of, 139; Evangelical Lutheran church in, 227; Hauge's synod in, 227; N. D., 162, 209, 221, 247, 248, 254, 255, 259, 260, 266, note 134; Norwegian Lutheran synods in, 227
 Red River Valley Lutheran Association, 176
 Red Stone, Assiniboine chief, 41, 42, 43
 Red Willow Lake congregation, 213
 Red Wing, Minn., 137, 201, 238, 247, note 110; 250, note 114; 273, 274
 Red Wood Indian Agency, 110
 Redwing, Andrew, 171
 Reeves, D. P., 77
 Reishus, Rev. T. S., 178, note 46; 230, note 91
 Reiton, Bella, 183, note 54, note 54; Peter, 171; Rev. B. J., 228
 Rennebu, Norway, 154
 Rennebu Stift, Norway, 243
 Rennels, Mrs. Kate, 39, note 33
 Renville, Gabriel, 117; Victor, 117, note 42
 Republican State convention, Minn., 238
Restaurationen, Norwegian sloop, 197
 Resvig, L., 188, note 61
 Reynolds, N. D., 262, note 129
 Rice, Rasmus Rasmussen, 171, note 39
 Rice county, Minn., 172, 274
 Rich Landing, Minn., 274
 Richland county, N. D., 154, 155, 164, note 27; 212, 214, 219, 222, 224, note 78; 227, 229, note 91; 255, note 122
 Ridge Landing, Mississippi river, 92
 Ridgeway, Iowa, 169
 Riel rebellion, 71
 Rindal, J. L., 185, note 58
 Ringstad, Rev. J. J., 230, note 91; biographical sketch of, 251 and note 117
 Riordan, Julia Ann, 302, note 27
 Riveland, Rasmus, 268, 269
 Roalkvam, Professor H., 176
 Roberts, Frank, 323, note 16; Lloyd, 313; Robert, 321

- Roberts Springs, Dak. Terr., 312
and note 9
- Robinson and Worthington, Ontario, Canada, 67
- Rock county, Wis., 164, 199
- Rockford, Iowa, 287; 288, note 3
- Rock Island, N. D., 301
- Rock Prairie, Wis., 255, note 122
- Rocky Ridge, S. D., stage station, 312
- Roen, Narve, 150
- Rogers, N. D., 225, 291
- Roger's post office, N. D., 301
- Rogne, Rev. E. T., 228, note 89
- Roinstad, Kjetil, 163
- Roisland, Dreng, 163
- Romo, Rev. P. C. 228
- Romstad, John, 186, note 60;
Rev. Martin, 183, note 55; 184,
note 56
- Rondestvedt, Rev. P. A., 230, note
91
- Rønning, Iver, 166, note 32; John,
166, note 32
- Rood, Martin, 172; Martin Jr.,
172
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 321
- Roseau, Minn., 256, note 125
- Rosendal congregation, 241
- Rosholdt, Rev. T., 235
- Rosset, August, 166, note 30
- Roraas, Norway, 152
- Rorvik, Rev. J., 178
- Rud, Hans, 186, note 60; Knut,
159; Torval, 166, note 32
- Rudd, P. H., 189
- Rudser, Svein, 177, note 44
- Rugby, N. D., 289, 293
- Rum river, Minn., 3
- Running, Christ, 191, note 64;
Gunnar, 191, note 64
- Runsvoild, Rev., I. D., 183, note
55; 185, note 58
- Rust, K., 156; Ole, 156
- Rustad, Simeon, 271, note 139
- Ruste, Tore, 269
- Rustebakke, Amund, 169; Anton,
169
- Rutland, N. D., 213, 228
- Saco, Montana, 99
- Saetersdalen, Norway, 160, 162,
163, 164, 173, 242, 265, 267
- Sadler, woodchopper, Missouri
river, 130
- Sagen, August, 190; Ole, 166;
Rev. A., 234; Rev. A. K., 235,
237
- Sagvang, John, 306, note 41
- St. Albans, Vermont, 61
- St. Ansgar, Ia., 149, 153, 159
- St. Anthony, Minn., 3
- St. Clair and Berg, Grand Forks
firm, 175
- St. Cloud, Minn., 69, 70, 137, 142,
143, 280
- St. Croix county, Wis., 171
- St. Croix river, Minn., 4
- St. Johannes congregation, 262,
note 129
- St. Joseph, Dak. Terr., 147; Mis-
souri, 88
- St. Louis, Missouri, 40, 80, 81, 88,
114, 233, 250, note 114; 259,
274
- St. Louis Republican*, 71, note 7
- St. Lukes hospital, 176; Aber-
deen, S. D., 130
- St. Mary's, Canada, 302, note 27
- St. Olaf College, 204, 234, 239,
240, 262, note 129
- St. Olaf congregation, 213
- St. Olaf's School, Northfield, Min-
nesota, 204
- St. Paul, Minn., 88, 89, 116, 137,
226, note 82; 237, 238, 260, 270,
279, 280, 299, 300, 303
- St. Paul and Duluth railway, 69
- St. Paul, Minneapolis and Mani-
toba railroad, 270, 287, 297,
303, 304
- St. Paul and Pacific railway, 247
- St. Paul Pioneer*, 1865, 4, note 3
- St. Peters, Minn., 97, 240, note
102
- St. Thomas, N. D., 148, 224, note
78
- Sandvik, Ole, 166, note 30
- Sand Hill, Minn., 262, note 129
- Salemonson, Gunder Jr., 163; 164,
note 26; Gunder Sr., 163
- Salten, Norway, 253

- Saluda*, river steamboat, 88
 Salt Lake City, Utah, 314, note 11
 Samtalemøde, 254
 Sanborn, Hiram, 117
 Sand, Anton, 306, note 41; Casper, 306, note 41; Thor, 166, note 31
 Sandefjord, Norway, 175
 Sanden, Esten, 171, note 39; Gutorm, 171, note 39; 181, note 51; John, 171, note 39; Ole, 171, note 39
 Sanderson, John, 89
 Sand Hill river, Minn., 249
 San Francisco, Cal., 226
 Sannes, Aanund Olsen, 162; Daniel, 163; Halvor, 161; John, 162, 163 and note 25; L. H., 175; Mrs. Aanund Olsen, 162; Tor, 163
 Santee Indians, trading at Ft. Berthold, 57
 Sanvick, John, 164, note 27
 Sargent, N. D., 213
 Sargent, Asa, 73
 Sargent county, N. D., 222, 224, note 78; 225
 Saskatchewan, Canada, 162
 Saugstad, Ingv., 188, note 61
 Sauk Center, Minn., 69, 118, 137
 Sauk Valley, Minn., 73
 Saunders, Thomas C., 289, note 4
 Savre, Dr., 185, note 58
 Sawyer, cattle herder, Iowa, 126
 Saybrook, Ohio, 62, 67
 Scandia Society, history of, 187
 Scandinavian Augustana Synod, 205, 206, 207
 Schefstad, J., 190
 Schmidt, Prof. F. A., 203
 Scott, Milo, 303
 Scouts, company of, 117
 Seattle, Wash., 226
Selkirk, Hudson Bay Co. steamboat, 278; Red river steamboat, 72, 77, 95
 Seltevit, C. G., 230, note 91
 Senjen, Norway, 253
 Settlement of Norwegians in Grand Forks county, 159
 Severson, Charles, 148; Emma, history of Crary, 287
 Severinson, Stella, 183, note 54
 Shafter, banker at Stillwater, Minn., 92
 Sheets, Capt., steamboat *Dakota*, 94
 Shelly, Minn., 151, 261, 262, note 129
 Shepard, John, 301, note 23
 Sherva, Anders, 165, 166; Christian, 166, note 31; Fredrick, 166, note 31
 Sheyenne congregation, 256, note 123
 Sheyenne river, N. D., 117, 209, 212, 213, 215, 216, 230, 249, 275
 Sheyenne Valley congregation, 213
 Shield, Sgt. J., 63
 Short, Jack, Stillwater, Minn., 93
 Shuler, Benjamin, 11
 Sibley, Gen. H. H., 5, 7, 55, 56, 116, 117, 118
 Sibley expedition into Dakota Territory, 133
 Sibley island, N. D., 127
 Sidney, Neb., 310, 314
 Sigdal, N. D., 255, 256, note 123
 Sigerseth, Ole, 186, note 60
 Sime, John, 166, note 32
 Sims, N. D., 244, 245
 Sims, Charles F., 16, note 15
 Sioux City, Iowa, 22, 23, 24, 126, 128
 Sippey, John, 96
 Sistrud, Clara, 183, note 54
 Sixth Minnesota Regiment, 117, 118
 Skaarvold, Arnt, 154
 Skjei, Rev. Th. J., 220, 227 and note 86
 Skeim, Anna, 183, note 54; Maline, 183, note 54
 Ski sled, 269; pioneer use of, 241
 Skogen, Anders, 261
 Skurdal, A., 188, note 61; Peder, 166, note 32
 Sletten, Selma, 183, note 54
 Sletto, Tillie, 183, note 54
 Smat, John, 306, note 41

- Smith, Gov. Donald B., 75; Jefferson, 49, 51, 87, 88; J. H., 291, note 8; 292, 294; John, post trader, Bismarek, N. D., 100; Joseph, Ellsworth, Kansas, 67; Lieut., Mineral Point, Wis., 7, note 4, 9, 12, 14, 15, note 14, 16; Victor, 321; William, St. Louis, 84
- Snorre, Fergus Falls glee club, 189
- Soby, J. M., 295 and note 11
- Sod river, (Park River), N. D., 263
- Soffjord, Lars, 166, note 32
- Sogn, N. D., 255; Norway, 149, 174, 242
- Sogndal, Norway, 247, note 110
- Solberg, M. H., 175; Severt, 276, note 143
- Soldier, Arikara Indian, 98
- Soldiers' Orphan home, Wisconsin, 203
- Solem, Halvor, 165
- Solum, Ole, 164, note 27
- Solør, Norway, 163, 165, 166, 169
- Solstad, H. P., 262
- Solum, Magnus, 190; Petrus, 150; Sevrin, 150
- Sondreaal, Iver, 165; Helga, 165; Paul, 165; Thomas, 165
- Sons of Norway, history of, 185
- Sorbo, Ole, 161
- Sorley, J. A., 175
- Sorum, Annie, 187
- Spaare, Adolph, 186, note 60
- Spaude, Mrs., 115
- Spaulding, Burleigh F., 303
- Spear Fish, S. D., 313
- Sperry, Albert, Ill., Albert H., 121, 124; O. F., biographical sketch of, 119; Jeremiah, 119
- Spink, S. D., 303
- Springfield, Ill., 126, 251, note 117
- Springfield rifles, captured by Indians, 10
- Stadstad, A. A., 181, note 51; G. A., 181, note 51; G. G., 183, note 54; Ole, 181, note 51
- Stage line, Moorhead to Pembina, 72
- Stage stations, Moorhead to Pembina, 72
- Stammes, J. A., 166, note 32
- Stampen, John, 174
- Stampen and Roethe, Grand Forks firm, 174
- Standal, P., 188, note 61; Peter, 190, 191, note 64
- Stanford, Quebec, Canada, 93
- Stanford, St. Croix Falls, Wis., 93
- Stange, Norway, 255, note 122
- Stangeland, Mathias, 264 and note 132
- Stanley, Gen., 97
- Staples, merchant, Anoka, Minn., 3
- Stark county, N. D., 245
- Stavanger, Norway, 150, 151, 195, 266, note 135; 267, note 136
- Stavens, G. A., 181, note 51
- Steberg, C. O., 188, note 62; 190; E. O., 188, note 61
- Stedman, Col., J. B., 63
- Steele, N. D., 304
- Steele county, N. D., 164, 165, 172, 213, 214, 220, 224, note 78; 225, 227, 237
- Stefanus congregation, 213
- Stein, Adam, 70
- Stevens, N. D., 293, 294, note 10; 302, note 37; 306
- Stevens, Alfred, 294, note 10; 306; H. E., 293 and notes 9 and 10; 306
- Stevenson, Don., 318
- Stewart, Capt., steamboat *Keweenaw*, 68; David, 73
- Stillwater, Minn., 89, 90, 93
- Stillwater House, Stillwater, Minn., 90
- Stjordalen, Norway, 169
- Stocking, Henry, 105, note 39
- Stockwood, Minn., 150
- Stony Creek, N. D., 101, 103
- Stony Point, N. D., 238
- Storasli, Germund, 248
- Strand, E. T., 185, note 58
- Strandvold, Ole, 152, 154, 229, 234, 279
- Strawbridge College Company, 177, note 45

- Striped Elk, Dakota woman, 130
 Strom, H. H., 178, note 46
 Strømme, *Erindringer*, 235, note 98; 236, 237, 239, note 101; 240
 Strømme, Rev. Peer O., 220, 229, note 91; 262; biographical sketch of, 233
 Strout, Capt., 111, 112, 116
 Strychnine, used to poison Indians, 12 and note 9
 Stump Lake, N. D., 252
Success, Missouri river steamboat, 127
 Sully, Gen. Alfred, 16, note 15
 Sully creek, Dak. Terr., 312
 Sundahl congregation, 255, 269
 Superior, Wis., 255, note 122
Superior Posten, Superior, Wis., 239
 Suprenault, steersman for Priemeau and Co., 87
 Sutherland, Martin, 299
 Svenkeson, Gunstein, 160
 Sverningsen, Rev. S., 230, note 91; 241, note 104
 Sverdrup, Professor G., 181, note 51; 206, 207
 Svingen, Rev. O. O., 228
 Swalestuen, Rev. J. D., 228, note 89
 Swedish Augustana synod, 231
 Sweetman, Fred, 101
 Swenson, Iver, 275; Peder, 171, note 39
 Swift county, Minn., 274
- TACOMA, Wash., 236, 269
 Takla, *Det Norske Folk i De Forenede Stater*, 210, note 39; 221, note 72
 Tallakson, Rev. S. L., 258, note 126; biographical sketch of, 256 and note 125
 Tandberg, Andrew, 166; Gudbrand, 166; Gust, 166; Math., 166; Mrs. Gudbrand, 166; Nels, 166, Nils, 166, note 31; Professor John, 177, and note 44
 Tande, Amalia, 183, note 54
 Tanning buffalo robes, 31, note 26
- Tappen, Federal Agent at Ft. Berthold, 98
 Tarang, John M., 190
 Tarkelson, Aslak, 160
 Taylor, N. D., 244, 245
 Taylor, Bayard, 71, note 7; Joseph, 100
 Telemarken, Norway, 168
Tempest, river steamboat, 80
 Tetli, Johannes, 150
 Tharaldson, Eivind, 173; H., 164, 176; Halvor, 173; Osmund, 173
 Thick Timbered river, N. D., 8
 Thief River Falls, Minn., 189, 266, note 125
 Thimens, Capt., 95
 Thingelstad, Bernt, 166, note 30; Hans, 165 and note 29; 166; Iver, 165; Peder, 165
 Third Minnesota Regiment, 116
 Thirteenth U. S. Infantry, Fort Rice, 22
 Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry, 7, note 4
 Thirty-eighth Wisconsin Volunteers, 96
 Thomas, Gen. George H., 62, 126
 Thompson, N. D., 159, note 17; 161, note 21; 163, 213, 240, 303
 Thompson, A., 151; Gullick, 161; Gustav, 186, note 60; Horace, H., 124; Iver, 184, note 56; Lewis, 175; Martin, 150; Nels, 186, note 60; Ole, 150, 156; Ole, Hallingdal, Norway, 149; Thomas, 186, note 60; Thorsten, 186, note 60; Torger, 156
 Thoe, Ole, 170
 Thoen, Dr. P., 176
 Thoms, Libby, 306, note 41
 Thoreson, Halvor, 160, note 19; Mrs. Halvor, 160, note 19; P. A., 228, note 89
 Thorgrimsen, Rev. H. B., 220, and note 68; 230, note 91
 Thorlakson, Rev. Pall, 218, 229, note 91; 236
 Thorpe, Norway, 240
 Thorpe, Thea, 183, note 54
 Thorsgaard, E. O., 166, note 32

- Thorson, Halvor, 161, and note 22; Halvor, 162, note 24; description of his journey to Grand Forks county, 161, note 23; J. E., 186, note 60; Lars, 166, note 30; Mrs. Halvor, 161, note 22; Oscar, 186, note 60; O. A., 178, note 46; Peter, 186, note 60; P. O., 188, note 61; Theodore, Fargo, N. D., 149
 Thrane, Marcus, 134, note 2; 237
 Thraniter movement, 134
 Three Seven ranch, 323, note 16
 Threshing machine, used at Fort Buford, N. D., 103
 Tillie, Ole, 186, note 60
 Tingelstad, Hans, 184, note 56; 185 and note 58; Professor John, 178, 230, note 91
 Titus, Mrs. M. S., 79; S. S., 77
 Tjornhem, Rev., 185, note 58
 Todd, Joseph, Capt. of steam-boat *Helena*, 102
 Tofte, Anders, 274
 Tofsli, Even, 164; Ole, 164
 Tollef, Fante, 266, note 134
 Tollefsen, Rev. I., 181 and note 51; 183, note 54
 Tollefson, Axel, Historical Notes on the Norwegians in the Red River Valley, 133; Rev. B., 230
 Tolna, N. D., 256
 Torgerson, traveling companion of Hjelm Hansen, 145, 146; Chamberlain, Christiania, Norway, 138
 Torjusun, Halvor, 161
 Torseth, S., 181, note 51
 Torsgaard, John, 234
 Toten, Norway, 153
 Tower City, N. D., 302
 Towner, Colonel O. M., 297, 299
 Townsend, Mont., 316
 Tracy, history of, 290, note 5
 Trade goods at Ft. Berthold, 31, note 25
 Trageton, Ole, 165
 Traill, Walter J. S., 70, 75
 Traill county, N. D., 156, 164, 167, 174, 212, 214, 216, note 78; 227, 228, 229, note 91; 260, 263, 271, 274
Trammens Tidende, Norwegian paper at Christiania, 135, note 3
 Trandem, Marcus, 186, note 60
 Transmontagne, Frenchman in St. Louis, 80
 Trengard, Ole, 166, note 30
 Trepanier, C. P., Grand Forks, N. D., 77
 Trinity Church, N. D., 213
 Trondhjem, Norway, 151, 154, 166, 227, note 86; 243, 247, note 110
 Trondhjems Stift, Norway, 170
 Trongsrud, B., 153
 Troidal, Ole, 163
 Trudeau, Emma, 183, note 54
 Tucka, Dakota Indian, 118
 Tufte, T. C., 185, note 58; T. E., 166, note 31; 183, note 55; 184, note 56
 Turtle mountains, N. D., 228
 Turtle Mountain trail, 288, 289
 Turtle river, N. D., 165, 168, 171, note 39; 172
 Tuskind, Ole, 153
 Trysil, N. D., 152, 237, 238; Norway, 152
 Trysil congregation, 212, 229, 261, 262
 Trysil settlement, 234
 Twentieth Wisconsin regiment, 174
 Twin Valley, Minn., 151, 152, 235
 Twite, Louis, 186, note 60
 UDENBY, Hans, 171
 Uglund, Hans, 291, note 6; 306
 Ulberg, T. A., 166, note 32; 181, note 51
 Ullensaker, Norway, 164
 Ulven, Thomas, 175
 Ulvestad, Martin, 157, 159, note 17; 165, note 29; 166, note 31; 167
 Ulvestad, Martin, *Nordmændene i Amerika*, 148, note 9; 149, note 10; 150, note 11; 151, 152, note 12; 154, note 14; 155, note 15
Ungdommens Ven, 254, note 120
 Ungstad, N., 188, note 61

- Union Hotel, Galesburg, Ill., 79
 Union Pacific Railway, 68
 United Norwegian Lutheran Church, 204, 205, 207, 208, 221, 223, 229, 231, 245
United States, river steamboat, 80
 University of Minnesota, 245
 University of Washington, 234
 Upham, N. D., 156, note 16
 Upsahl, Ole, 161
 Urdahl, Jens, 152
 Urvold, Pauline, 183, note 54

 VAAGE, Norway, 169
 Vaaler, Rev. J. R., 178
 Valdres, Norway, 165, 169, 175, 242
 Valley City, N. D., 225, 269
 Vanderbilt, S. D., 130
 Van Driesche, William F., 320, note 14
 Vang, Norway, 169
 Vange, Erik, 166, note 30
 Vangness, Rev. O. P., 230, note 91
 Varenson, Anna, 183, note 54
 Varnum, Lieut., 218
 Vauk, Philip, 129
 Veflen, Ole, 161
 Velva, N. D., 179
 Venaas, Ole, 171
 Vermillion, S. D., 303
 Vermillion Lake, Minn., 3, 4
 Vernon, county, Wis., 152
 Vesteraalen, Norway, 253
 Vettleson, Rev., 215, 229, note 91
Vidnesbyrd fra Broderkredsen, 254
 Viets, Brazilla, 61; Frank, 173; biographical sketch, 61; First Lieut., Battery C., 1st Ohio Light Artillery, 64; Jesse, 61; Rodney, 61
 Viets family, genealogy of, 61, note 1
 Virginia City, Mont., 20, note 21; 310
 Vik, Lars, 161
 Viken, Thor, 161
 Viking, Crookston, glee club, 189
 Vinge, K., 156
 Vining, Minn., 244
 Vold, M. T., 175
 Volunteer Scout service, 116
 Von Hoffman, L. A., 311, note 7; 321, note 15; Medora, 311, note 7
Vor Tid, 239
 Voss, Norway, 250, note 114

 WAAGE, Rev. J. N., 218
 Wade, William, 129, 130
 Wagner, scout, 117; N. C., 177, note 44
 Waldin, C., 188, note 61
 Waldron, J. M., 297, 298, 299, 301, note 23
 Walhalla, N. D., 224, note 78
 Walker, F. T., 297, 303
 Walle, N. D., 159, 160, and note 19; 161, 162, and note 24; 163, 164, 213, 219, 238, 241, 262 and note 129
 Waller, Peder, 152
 Walpole, William, 127
 Walsh, George, 172, 173, 203, 296, 297, 299, 300, 303
 Walsh county, N. D., 190, 213, 214, 222, 224, note 78; 227, 230, 240, 241, 251 and note 118
 Walstad, John, 177, note 44
 Wamduska, N. D., 289, note 4; 302, note 27; 301
 Washington, 159, 217
 Washington, D. C., 292
 Watterud, P. N., 166, note 30
 Waukegan, Ill., 126
 Waxvik, O. K., 186, note 60
 Weare and Allison, banking firm, Sioux City, Iowa, 23
 Weberg, Peter, 175
 Webster, West Virginia, 63
 Weenaas, Rev., A., 205, 206, 216, 218, 277
 Wegner, N. C., 191, note 64
 Welch, James, 322; William, 306, note 41
 Wells, Rev., 238
 Wenatchee, Washington, 104
 Westerland, Rev. J., 228
 Weston, George, 70
 Weymouth, L. S., 119
 Wickne, Andrew, 166, note 31

- Wickum, Hans, 306
 Wilder, Francis L., 294, note 10
 Wild Rice, N. D., 153
 Wild Rice congregation, 262
 Wild Rice river, N. D., 209, 215, 248, 249
 Wilkes, Mayville, Wis., 96
 Williams, Gus., 73
 Williams county, N. D., 256
 Williamson, 6th Iowa Cavalry, 14, note 11; 15
 Willmar, Minn., 120, 256, note 125
 Willmar Seminary, 256, note 125
 Wilmington, Minn., 152
 Wilson, George, 6, 175
 Winden, Andrew, 166, note 31; Peter, 166, note 31
 Windom, William, 71, note 7
 Winchester, Wis., 233
 Winneshiek, Ia., 150, 153, 170, 171, 279, 302
 Winnipeg, Canada, in 1873, 74
 Winters, member of Black Hills party, 130
 Wisnaes, Rev. R. J., 219, 229, note 91; 234
 Whalen, James, 292, 294
 Wheat crop, pioneer methods of threshing, 273
 Whipple, A. O., 296
 Whitcomb, Capt., 125; W. R., 306
 White, Alfred, 323, note 16; Capt. of *Red Wing*, 81, note 24; Charley, pilot of *Ellen May*, No. 2, 81
 White Bear, (LeKota) trapper and interpreter, 126
 White Face, Arikara Indian, 98
 W. L. Larned and the Larned family, 1, note 1
 Woken, P. A., 166, note 32
 Wold, Enok, 186, note 60; John, 155; Peter B., 154; Rev. A., 255, note 122; Rev. Ch. I., 219, 230; Rev. S. S., biographical sketch of, 255 and note 122
 Wolden, Helene, 255, note 122; Simon, 255, note 122
 Wood, Eliza, 61; Henry, 61; Hiram, 61; John, 61; J. R., 306; Lucinda, 61; Lyman, 61
 Wood Lake, Minn., 116
 Works, Hal, 106, note 41
 Wright, Moses, 62
 Wurschmidt, J. D., 190, and note 63
 YANKTON, S. D., 276, 299, 310, 318
 Yellow fever, Missouri, 274; New Orleans, La., 80
 Yellow Medicine agency, Minn., 110, 121, 124
 Yellowstone river, 82
 Ylvisaker, Rev. I. D., 226, note 84; 232, note 96; Rev. N. Th., 215, 216, 229, note 91; 247, note 110; biographical sketch of, 247; Rev. Olaf, 256, 257; Sigrid, 247, note 110; Thorbjorn, 247, note 110
 ZAHL, Dr., 103
 Zimmerman, 245
 Zion, N. D., 251, note 118
 Zollicoffer, Gen., 64; killed by Col. Frye, 65
 Zumbrot, Minn., 247, note 110

